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SUNDAY TIMES 4th May '86

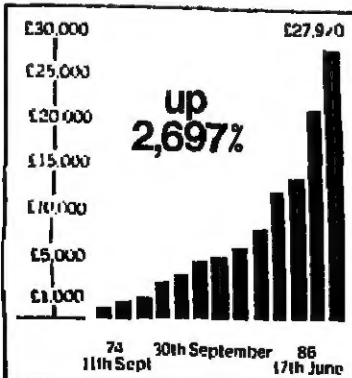
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* OBSERVER 15th Dec '85

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Daily Telegraph 13th July '85

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Perpetual

Howe snubbed

EVERYBODY whom is important for Sir Geoffrey Howe to see in South Africa has refused to see him. The British Foreign Secretary was told by President P. W. Botha that he was too busy to see him this week - though he may find time later in the month. Bishop Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak said they would refuse to meet him and Winnie Mandela said her imprisoned husband Nelson would not meet him either. Sir Geoffrey went instead to Zambia and Zimbabwe to confer with President Kaunda and Mr Mugabe about the South African crisis. The Church of England's General Synod, meeting in York voted overwhelmingly to urge the British government to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. At the beginning of the debate a message was read from Bishop Tutu. "Please, please stand by us," it said. "We are moving daily further into repression. We are going back into the dark ages."

(Report, page 4)

"WE HAVE TO HANG ON TO CHANGE ITS DIRECTION"



Le Monde

France and New Zealand have agreed that the French secret service officers at present serving ten-year sentences in New Zealand get a French apology, nearly £5 millions in compensation, and an end to French obstruction of New Zealand imports to the EEC. Below we give a personal French view of the affair by Le Monde's Jacques Amalric.

Dominique Prieur is part of a deal arranged by the UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, under which New Zealand gets a French apology, nearly £5 millions in compensation, and an end to French obstruction of New Zealand imports to the EEC. Below we give a personal French view of the affair by Le Monde's Jacques Amalric.

The end of the affair?

SO THE PROCEDURE adopted with the choice of Perez de Cuellar as mediator has worked. The UN Secretary-General sent to the French and New Zealand leaders his proposals for settling the dispute over the Rainbow Warrior incident. Since the two capitals had announced beforehand they would abide by the mediator's directives, we can look forward to seeing a rapid change in the situation of the two French officers who have been held in New Zealand for almost a year.

France and New Zealand had each sent a memorandum to the mediator in which they defined the minimum they were prepared to accept. The "verdict" is in a way a synthesis of the two texts.

New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange has not forgotten that he has to face an election in 1987, perhaps before, and that his conservative opponents will not fail to use against him his boast of a few months ago that Dominique Prieur and Alain Mafart would serve out their full terms in New Zealand.

It is the endless customs pinpricks employed by France against certain New Zealand goods (in particular, wool and sheep's brains) and the suspension of NZ lamb imports by New Caledonia which helped to change the impetuous David Lange's mind. All the more so, as France had another economic ace up its sleeve - the renewal at the end of July of the better agreement between New Zealand and the EEC.

Lange was able to gauge French determination during his tour of several European countries; most of the people he spoke to - except Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher - advised him to make a deal. It was Dutch Prime Minister Lubbers who talked Lange into accepting the principle of mediation, which was the only way Lange could

gracefully go back on his headline declarations. Perez de Cuellar's personality helped in having the agreement worked out very quickly.

What did Lange want in exchange for the early release of Prieur and Mafart? First, an apology from France, compensation and the normalisation of trade relations.

The French Government wanted to get it over with before the question of New Zealand butter came up for a vote in the EEC. An agreement between Paris and Wellington does not, however, mean that French-New Zealand relations have been completely normalised. Wellington has made no secret of its intention to continue its struggle to make the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone, which means putting a stop to the Moruroa nuclear tests. Then again, the New Zealanders have already criticised the Chirac government decision to halt the reforms in New Caledonia and have pointed out that they are in favour of this French possession becoming independent.

In short, France's image is not about to improve in the Pacific, where it is increasingly seen as an arrogant power, insensitive, and ignoring the realities. Perhaps, all the same, the Rainbow Warrior incident will have brought home to French leaders that New Zealand is not inhabited by Britons, but provincial puritans, rural folk who are as confident of their rights as they are unshakable on their ethics.

(Report, page 6)

Nakasone and the rise in Japanese firepower

EVEN his most strident critics must concede that the Liberal Democratic Party's victory in the Japanese elections was a stunning personal triumph for Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone. (Report, page 6). He called the elections (unusually, for both upper and lower houses) against the advice of party colleagues, at a time when the appreciating yen was blunting the country's competitiveness and barely two months since commentators were writing him off after a poor personal showing at the Tokyo Economic Summit.

But instead of political hara-kiri, Mr Nakasone emerged with a landslide, winning over 300 seats in the important Lower House of Parliament, converting a threadbare majority courtesy of other parties into an absolute majority. This compares with 271 needed to control all standing committees, which was reckoned to be the minimum needed to avoid political oblivion. But, curiously, Mr Nakasone suffered the humiliation of finishing second behind former Prime Minister Fukuda - his arch LDP rival who had opposed an election - in their own multi-seat constituency.

Whatever face he has lost locally has more than been made up for nationally, where he now has a popular mandate which may force the LDP to bend its own rules to allow him to continue as leader for a third term. That is what the election is really all about, despite inescapable disclaimers. Unless the party changes the rules he will have to stand down as leader in October.

The outcome has important consequences for the rest of the world. Mr Nakasone's

administration has been characterised by increasing internationalisation - ably flanked by an ominous increase in nationalism at home. He has tried to open reluctant Japanese markets to West products and financial services to head protectionist pressures and to increase Japan's role on the world stage. This contrary to national instincts (to Japanese) and to the country's labyrinthine distribution system. Nothing much happened until a soaring yen (helped by a declining dollar) dented the competitiveness of Japan's industrial machine and started a wave of protest from manufacturers. Even this (nor the fact that the economy actually contracted in the first quarter) prevented an LDP victory which the party's victory celebrated, with the rising to a new record "high."

Mr Nakasone's ambition of greater recognition for Japan in the world is backed by an assertive defence policy based on the assumption that Japan must have a firepower to be respected in the world. To a greater extent than the rivals who replace him, Mr Nakasone (who has a stated getting rid of the "peace clause" in the constitution) is leading the Japanese sensus from the front on the issue of increased military power. Of course, seen always as "defence" spending by the momentum builds up, the distinction between what might be used for defence attack is in danger of becoming increasingly blurred. If Mr Nakasone's victory leads more militaristic nation then it will be not just for Japan, but for the rest of the world.

Two deaths in Malaysia

WITHIN Malaysia's jurisdiction the death penalty is mandatory for drug traffickers. To describe the death penalty as barbaric, medieval, and inhumane, as Australian spokesmen did on Monday may very well be accurate. In our view it is. But Malaysia is only one of many countries to practise it and almost every other has practised it within living memory (the last execution in Australia was in 1967). Therefore Malaysia cannot be singled out for criticism solely on that score. Secondly, Malaysia applies the death penalty for offences other than murder. But it is not unique in that. Indeed the death penalty is still technically on the statute book in Britain for treason (Act of 1814) and piracy (1837). Thirdly, the two wretched victims of Malaysian law were Australians, one also with British nationality. Thirty Malaysians and several others from Singapore have already been executed for drug offences, and the law must be colour-blind: surely no one who protests about the sentences on Kevin Barlow and Brian Chambers will disagree with that.

These considerations do not mitigate the acute distress of the two men's families or atone for their shortened lives, but they may explain why there has been a measure of embarrassment in any protests mounted or requests for clemency made. The Prime

Minister acted, it is said, as a mother on behalf of a mother. It was a good thing. But her appeal could hardly have other than unavailing.

On the scale of offences, trafficking heroin now ranks very high in its condemnation: as high perhaps as blooded murder and higher than blooded because the victims are forced suffering and may well die as a result. Pope John Paul II called it "a new and subtle form of slavery, sometimes a more fearful than that of the Negroes." He was speaking in Colombia, supplies 80 per cent of the world's cocaine. But judicial killing must remain abhorrent even in these circumstances, on principle grounds but also because there is the chance of a wrongful conviction or ordeal of Chambers and Barlow has two and a half years long, and ago also. In that sense they and their families have been doubly punished. But the law's execution cannot itself be a ground for clemency when, as in the United Kingdom, the appeal procedures are themselves and laborious. If Malaysia fell into line other countries by abolishing the penalty would earn some congratulations. It has not done so in not group enough to be condemned.

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David Irvine reports from Wimbledon

How Britain paved the way for apartheid

There seems to be little understanding in the media, and even on the part of some MPs, of Britain's very great share in the responsibility for the present terrible state of affairs in South Africa. Britain has a direct constitutional responsibility for the long and agonising process of exploitation, theft of land and property, and disenfranchisement of the black people of South Africa, and their deliberate exclusion from any profit, and their fair share of the wealth that their unremitting hard labour, under brutal oppression, has helped to create.

Paul Kruger once said that one who would create the future must not forget the past: we have conveniently forgotten our part in the crimes against humanity committed in South Africa. Compromises with the Boers and their policies towards the blacks became entrenched in treaties and constitutions; it suited our exploitation of mineral and agricultural wealth and provided cheap labour controlled by crushing force. It led inexorably to segregation of all the races, to the evil system of apartheid, to white supremacy for profit and a totalitarian state that now threatens the profit it was meant to defend and the peace and prosperity of the whole of southern Africa, if not the world.

Twenty-five million black people are enslaved by apartheid today,

as their forefathers were enslaved by the first Boers to arrive in the Cape in 1652, over 300 years ago. Incompetent and disastrous interventions by a succession of British governments since 1806 were the direct cause of this.

We are in duty bound to intervene again, this time effectively, to put right the wrongs we have done since we seized the Cape 180 years ago. The 142 years in the British Empire, including 104 years of direct British rule, have left the blacks worse off than when we arrived. At first we repealed the more offensive of the Boer laws, but after 100 years of wars, having gained complete political control, we made the move that doomed the blacks. The Boer Republics were allowed to disenfranchise all non-whites.

In 1910 this was entrenched in the new Union constitution, approved by the British government, despite strenuous protests by the blacks and dire warnings of disaster by eminent and knowledgeable people both here and in the Union. In 1913 the Native Land Act forced blacks off land they had owned or been tenants on for years; they were driven to squalid shanty towns in the cities, or to the barren desolate "reserves" — now the "homelands" or Bantustans.

In 1948 the Nazi sympathisers of the Broderbond swept to power in the post war elections. These men,

imprisoned for sabotage in two world wars, brushed aside Smuts, who had set out to make South Africa "a white man's land," and succeeded, scoring years of peaceful struggles by the loyal blacks who had served the Empire and built a land of wealth and prosperity for the whites. Now the triumphant Boers created, on the foundations Britain had laid so well, the totalitarian racist state they had so much admired in Hitler's Germany. To date it has lasted three times longer than Hitler's Reich.

"Thanks to the 'liberal conscience' that some MPs seem to despise so much, the harrowing history of South Africa is well documented. Until the panic clampdown by P. W. Botha's government last month, the TV screens of the world showed us all the demeaned barbarity of the repression in that unhappy country. Many brave people, over many, many years have risked and lost their lives; many people, black and white, have risked ruin, savage beatings, torture, imprisonment, and suffered horrible deaths to put this terrible story in front of our eyes. George De'ath, hacked to death making a TV film, was one of the latest victims.

Today there is no excuse for being ignorant of the stark statistics of oppression in South Africa, and of Britain's contribution to the survival of this evil regime. We really should all be aware that 15 per cent of the population, all white, live in luxury on 87 per cent of the land, and have all the best land. That they enjoy 70 per cent of the country's income, while 86 per cent of the people, all black, crammed on to 13 per cent of the

land, and who produce this wealth, cannot share it.

Living half starved in conditions unfit for animals, they are denied all human rights. When no longer of use to the whites they are forced to exist, if they can, in the barren eroded deserts of the "homelands," ruled by brutal black puppets of the white government, with no proper water supply, no sanitation, no medical facilities, no schooling, on soil too poor to grow sufficient food to live on, on plots too small to keep livestock or cattle. All their attempts to form legal political parties are frustrated; the ANC who represented them since 1912 banned, and every peaceful protest brutally smashed.

A state of affairs no worse than in many other countries, but one we are directly responsible for. P. C. Edwards, Ladbroke Road, Epsom, Surrey.

In the 1930s when Hitler started the persecution of the Jews in Germany, anti-fascist groups in Britain advocated a boycott of German consumer goods. They were begged to drop this idea on the grounds that the "Jews would suffer the worst". This was never undertaken. Let those who oppose sanctions against South Africa remember this.

Zola Zembe, South African Congress of Trade Unions, London N19.

Can I add one point to your article about the impact of sanctions on jobs in this country? (July 6). The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary have made much of the assertion that 120,000

jobs will be lost in this country if we impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

I asked the Foreign Secretary if he could detail the industries which would suffer job losses as a result of such a policy. The Government's reply was that they could not offer any breakdown of their global figures. In other words, there was no information on which industries and firms would suffer a reduction in employment. One is left with the impression, therefore, that the Government has plucked this figure out of thin air.

A policy which blocks South African imports into this country might well increase jobs here, although if it is effective, jobs will be lost in South Africa. Blocking exports to South Africa will obviously have an effect on jobs here, but the numbers of jobs affected will depend on the range of measures taken. As few people are calling for a total boycott it will be surprising if the job losses total anywhere near 120,000.

Frank Field, MP, (Lab, Birkenhead), London SW1.

Black insurrection and threats of economic sanctions are clearly pushing Pretoria to adopt even more extreme anti-black measures.

One solution has not been proposed: no sanctuary to be granted to white South Africans by any country when the inevitable mass exodus is attempted.

Only native white pressure will buckle Botha. (Dri F. Carabott, Lisle Street, London WC2).

How to revive the Irish body politic

For those of us who have campaigned for egalitarianism, tolerance and pluralism in Irish society, the defeat of our government's restrictive divorce proposals in the recent referendum was a stark reminder of the hold that fundamentalism and prejudice has on the minds of people in areas of high religious observance where one denomination is overwhelmingly dominant.

The grand coalition of Roman Catholic and property interests in the form of the RC hierarchy and the Fianna Fail party overwhelmed Garret Fitzgerald's constitutional crusade. It is absolute fatuous nonsense of Charles Haughey to assert that the result will have little significance in the context of Northern Ireland.

The menace of Managua

The Guardian is wrong to suggest (Leader, July 6) that the events in Nicaragua pose no threat to the United States. United States policy is determined principally by the fear that failure to control her own base block in Latin America would, first, make it clear to the Soviet Union that intervention elsewhere is relatively risk free; second, demonstrate United States irresolution to China and USA Third-World allies and thereby provoke doubt as to the value of Washington as an ally; and, thirdly, help confirm United States post-Vietnam post-Watergate global paralysis.

It is this paralysis which, it is feared, provided the main opportunity for Soviet geo-political expansion in the second half of the 1970s: the airlifting of Cuban forces into Angola (1975-76) and Ethiopia (1977-78); the support for Vietnamese expansion into Cam-

bodia (1978); and direct Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979. Western Europeans, who need only face Soviet power in Europe and whose interests and obligations are therefore only regional in scope, will consequently view the events of Latin America in largely regional terms — a superpower crushing the independence of a desperately poor nation-state that seeks only justice and freedom for her people.

The United States, which must face Soviet power in every continent on earth, and whose interests and obligations are therefore global in range, dare not regard the events in Central America in anything less than universal terms. For the United States, Soviet power is simply too great to take such a risk. Daniel Parsons, Worthing, Sussex.

BT buy-back plan could hurt Labour

AT ONE time the Labour Party's policy was to nationalise the "top hundred companies" without compensation. The companies were never actually named, and the proposal never appeared in an election manifesto, but its existence as part of party policy satisfied those who believe that clause four of the constitution, which pledges Labour to "the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange," is central to its whole purpose.

But nationalisation is not much of a vote-winner, so Labour has come up with a new concept called "social ownership" which is expected to be put to the party conference for approval in October. The first target for social ownership will be British Telecom which the Government privatised two years ago by selling off 51 per cent of its assets to 1.7 million shareholders in what was described as "the sale of the century".

Labour would give shareholders a choice of cashing in their shares at the 130p which they paid for them (they are at present worth 216p), or of exchanging them, on preferential terms, for non-voting securities which would have to be held for a specific length of time. This novel scheme would enable Labour to regain control of the industry without having to buy back all the shares.

The party's left wing, however, will almost certainly see this as a betrayal of clause four, and as further evidence of the leadership's readiness to renege on the party's socialist idealogy. The right may see it as another vote-loser, since BT's new investors must include pension funds and trade unions, as well as many first-time shareholders who are traditional Labour supporters. A fierce debate seems guaranteed.

From the point of view of the leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, however, Labour must have some policy for countering the Tories' massive sell-off of public assets without an unacceptable level of borrowing and without alienating too many voters, so the social ownership device could also be used to reacquire enterprises such as British Gas and British Airways if Mrs Thatcher persists in selling them.

There is, for the moment, a lull in the privatisation programme. British Airways is still not attractive enough to be sold, and the Government last week abandoned its plans to sell off the country's monopoly water undertakings. The

THE WEEK IN BRITAIN by James Lewis

Environment Secretary, Mr Nicholas Ridley, said the project had merely been postponed, but his announcement was interpreted as an admission either that the ill-conceived scheme had become too unpopular to proceed with, or that it was too complicated to put into effect.

None of the alleged benefits or privatisation — greater competition, financial discipline, improved choice for the consumer — are applicable to the water industry, and there have been growing environmental worries about the proposed water companies being torn between profits and protecting the countryside, monitoring effluent discharge into rivers, and the conservation of flora and wildlife.

The prospect of churning for water by usage through meters would also probably lead to reduced consumption, which would mean that profits could only come through increased prices. The City, understandably, came to see it as a poor prospect for investors. There are increasing signs that

man, Mr Norman Tebbit, who regularly attacks editors, producers, and sometimes journalists for what he believes is their built-in tendency to present views contrary to those of the Government. He has now set up a special "bias monitoring unit" in Conservative Central Office to compile evidence on which complaints to the broadcasting authorities can be based. (Labour, when in office, is equally critical of the BBC, which suggests that the corporation is perhaps not doing too bad a job.)

Last summer's inner city riots in Twickenham, London, were recalled this week when an inquiry headed by Lord Clifford concluded that the worst of the trouble could have been avoided by more sensitive policing and by greater cooperation between the police and the ethnic community on the Broadwater Farm estate. The Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Kenneth Newman, has warned that any recurrence of what he called last summer's "unprecedented level of savagery"

Setback in fight for women priests

THE Movement for the Ordination of Women reacted with defiance to a severe setback at the General Synod of the Church of England in York over the weekend.

A proposal to let women ordained abroad conduct services in England failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority in the houses of clergy and laity.

After winning simple majorities for its motion in all three houses — bishops, clergy and laity — the Movement for the Ordination of Women said: "It will now be impossible to prevent the hundreds of parishes who want women ordained from inviting women priests from abroad from officiating here."

But the Anglo-Catholic pressure group, Ecclesia, responded in a statement: "We now look to the diocesan bishops to ensure that the peace and unity of the Church of

England is not destroyed by the implications of the threat by the Movement for the Ordination of Women to flood England with women priests from abroad."

The motion to admit women priests from abroad won 70 per cent in the house of bishops, 57.4

By Walter Schwarz

per cent in the house of clergy and 62.8 per cent in the house of laity. In the debate, Dancess Diani, Moderator of the Movement for the Ordination of Women, asked people who strongly opposed women priests in principle, to abstain in the vote. Only six did.

She argued that the proposed reform meant only that when an Anglican woman ordained abroad "leaves her own province and

comes to us, she is still a priest. Once we depart from this understanding of ordination, we introduce a new and alarming geographical element to our theology."

She said there were 743 Anglican women priests ordained abroad. Of the estimated 66 million baptised Anglicans, 60 million were members of provinces which ordained women or agreed in principle to ordain them.

Supporting the motion, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, said: "We cannot have little Englanders in the matter of church unity."

He rejected claims that the measure would complicate relations with Rome, which he argued had maintained its dialogue with the entire Anglican communion despite the ordination of numerous women priests.

transformation of apartheid. Such a God is surely a cultic idol."

Earlier, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, defended the bishops' recent report on the nature of Christian belief, issued in response to the Bishop of Durham's doubts on the virgin birth and the empty tomb.

Dr Runcie said: "We recognise honest difficulties in this delicate borderline between event and symbol, historical fact and interpretation."

In implicit criticism of the Bishop of Durham, he said: "Explorers will only receive the patient attention they deserve when they refuse to be lonely pioneers, and declare their solidarity with the household of faith."

Bishop tilts at laser beam miracles

By Walter Schwarz

HE asked: "What sort of God are we portraying and believing in if we insist on the divine laser beam type of miracle as the heart and basis of the incarnation and the resurrection?"

Such miracles "would not seem to be the choice" which God would make. "We are faced with the claim that God is prepared to work knockdown physical miracles in order to select a number of people into the secret of His incarnation, resurrection and salvation, but is not prepared to use such methods in order to deliver from Auschwitz, prevent Hiroshima, overcome famine, or bring about a bloodless

Prof. Gemme gardeners' voice

By Martin Wainwright

PROFESSOR Alan Gemme whose gentle Scottish voice endears the most vicious of followers of Gardeners' Qu Time on BBC radio, had died 73.

His scholarly approach, by 27 years as professor of botany at Keele University, was an admirable foil to the more advice of colleagues on the programme like Bill Sowerbutts and Fred Loads.

In the academic world he was respected as the author of *Drum Plant Anatomy*, co of the first volume of *Ch Botanical* and contributor of papers to learned journals. A natural ability as a broadcaster brought him a much wider audience.

Professor Gemme was at Ayr Academy and Glasgow University and his career research botanist, from 1931 his appointment at Keele in took him to Manchester University, the West of Scotland Agricultural College and the Midland Forensic Science Laboratory.

With Messrs Sowerbutts and Loads, he was one of the *Gardeners' Question Time* when the programme launched in 1950. His opinions on dying up his wrongly-planted ferns in pros and cons of the mespilis ended when he retired the Isle of Arran in 1982; previous year, he had been elected the OBE.

Letters to the Editor are welcome but not all can be acknowledged. We do not claim to be a newspaper. The *Guardian Weekly*, PO Box 100, Chesham, Bucks HP8 4NR, England.

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THE Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, will urge the African front-line states during visits to Lusaka and Harare this week to give his "peace mission" to South Africa more time and not confront Mrs Thatcher with a sanctions ultimatum during the mini Commonwealth summit in London on August 3.

The likelihood is that he will be given a dusty answer, and told that Mrs Thatcher's honourable and sensible course now is to take the lead in going to the United Nations Security Council with a proposal for mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

But the Foreign Secretary, having now been assured that President P. W. Botha and members of his Cabinet will agree to meet him during the last week of July, is already planning a second trip, this time mainly to South Africa, despite the rebuffs he has received

Howe asks for more time

By Hella Pick

from all sides in that country. He is determined to persevere with his search for miracles.

He will appeal to President Kenneth Kaunda and to Mr Robert Mugabe to support his efforts to convince South Africa's anti-apartheid leaders, especially the gaol ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, that they should agree to meet him when he goes to South Africa.

It is recognised in London that it is crucial for Sir Geoffrey to see Mr Mandela as early as possible in an effort to secure his support. Without his blessing, it is unlikely that any black leader in South Africa can be persuaded to meet the British Foreign Secretary, apart from Chief Gathuza Buthelesi.

But Mr Mandela is said to be very reluctant. His wife, Winnie, has already said that she would not meet the Foreign Secretary.

President Botha is playing hard to get. He kept the British Government waiting for most of last week before indicating that he was too busy for a meeting this week — he is said to be on holiday — but would be prepared to schedule one before the end of the month.

The ANC leaders in exile are saying they are willing to talk with Sir Geoffrey while he is in the Zambian capital. He wants to use the opportunity to urge the ANC to overcome their suspicions of British motives, and to accept Mrs

Thatcher's view that Britain deserves to be given this last chance to try and pull the South African authorities out of the quagmire of their own making.

He will ask the front-line states and the exiled ANC leaders to reflect that Britain is now acting on behalf of the EEC, and has the support of the US Administration and effectively of all the major Western industrialised states with a big economic stake in South Africa. If Pretoria will still listen to any outsider, then his voice would surely carry more weight than Commonwealth threats of sanctions.

The Foreign Secretary believes he has no alternative but to warn

that the South African Government's response to his "peace mission" is likely to be slow in coming.

The Foreign Office has also now realised that it forgot to take into account the fact that the National Party holds its annual congress on August 12, and that Mr Botha would be most unlikely to risk any concessions before that important meeting, even if he were inclined to do so.

The Foreign Secretary has to convince the Commonwealth that President Botha should be given the benefit of the doubt, at least until then. But Britain, in making the case for patience until August 12, also knows that a failure by President Botha to announce major concessions will produce a situation where Mrs Thatcher will come under irresistible pressure to opt for South Africa's economic and political isolation.



"Actually this is quite promising — I still have my foot in the door!"

Restrictions on Winnie Mandela lifted

By Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

This report was compiled subject to the emergency regulations imposed on the press by the South African Government.

ALL restrictions on Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the gaol ANC National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, have been lifted. For the first time in nearly a decade, she is as free as any of her black South African compatriots.

Captain Henry Beck, a spokesman of the Ministry of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, confirmed on Monday that Mrs Mandela was no longer restricted under South Africa's Internal Security Act.

She can now be quoted by the South African press on two conditions. Her statements must not be subversive as defined in the emergency regulations and must not be calculated to further the objects of the outlawed ANC. Those restrictions apply to all South Africans.

Captain Beck advised the media to take legal advice before quoting Mrs Mandela, a forthright woman who, in the past, repeatedly defied the ministerial decree prohibiting her from living in her Soweto home and from talking to the press.

The lifting of the curbs on the "mother of the nation," as Mrs Mandela's admirers have dubbed her, followed a Supreme Court ruling that it was not enough for the Minister of Law to state that he was satisfied that it was in the interests of law and order to restrict any person. He had, the court found, to state why he thought the person was a threat to public order.

Captain Beck's confirmation that Mrs Mandela is now as free as any black South African came only hours before a strong attack on her husband by the state-controlled South African Broadcasting Corporation as a "self-confessed Communist revolutionary who... still believes in violence as a means of achieving political change."

The attack on Mr Mandela was linked to the planned mission to South Africa by the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to try to persuade the South African Government to release Mr Mandela and to unban the ANC.

The SABC said that the ANC's leaders refused to consider abandoning violence and were, moreover, closely tied to the Soviet Union through the South African Communist Party.

Leading South African businessmen and industrialists earlier called on the Government to release Mr Mandela. In a statement published in Johannesburg's Sunday Star newspaper, Mr Gavin Rely, chairman of the giant Anglo American Mining Corporation, said: "Whether one likes the ANC or not — and I personally do not like its policy of violence nor its Marxist economic thinking — it constitutes an important factor in the South African political set-up."

He added that Mr Mandela, who is serving a life sentence after being convicted in 1964 of sabotage, "has become a myth, and I believe the ANC should be challenged for what it is."

A number of other leading South African businessmen supported the appeal for Mr Mandela's release, including the heads of the food group, Premier Milling, the biggest sugar corporation, Tongaat-Hulett, the main retail chain stores and the southern African division of BP.

More than 2,000 striking black miners last week forced the closure of four De Beers diamond mines in Kimberley, in the northern Cape, as the protest by South Africa's black workers against the detention of their trade union leaders gathered momentum.

A spokesman for De Beers con-

US reviewing Zimbabwe policy

THE United States is reviewing its aid policy towards Zimbabwe after failing to receive an apology for a virulent attack at a diplomatic reception in Harare on the West for its policies in South Africa. At a reception, the Zimbabwe Sports Minister, Mr David Karimanzira, accused the Western powers of doing nothing to end apartheid because of their "massive and profitable investments" in South Africa.

The former US president, Mr Jimmy Carter, had addressed the crowd of 300 for a few minutes, saying how pleased he was to have been able to guide US foreign

policy which helped to bring about majority rule in Zimbabwe.

At his turn to propose a toast, Mr Karimanzira, reading out that the United States and Britain had in recent years imposed sanctions against many countries, including the Soviet Union, Libya, Nicaragua, Poland, Afghanistan, and Argentina, but they balked at imposing sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Carter walked out, along with the US chargé d'affaires in Zimbabwe, Mr Gibson Lanpher, and other British and Western diplomats.

ceded that the strike had been triggered by demands for the release of union leaders. He recalled that the chairman of the company, Mr Julian Ogilvie Thompson, had warned the Minister of Law and Order last month that critical wage negotiations were pending, and that the detentions would make it impossible for the unions to represent the workers.

Mr Marcel Golding, the spokesman for the black National Union of Mineworkers said that some 8,000 miners had also staged go-slows at Free State Consolidated, which employs more than 50,000 miners. In reply, the owners, Anglo-American Corporation, said that 3,000 miners were involved in a virtual strike at one shaft at Free State Geduld, a mine in a giant complex which employs 12,000 miners. The miners showed up but "were not producing much," the corporation spokesman, Mr Paul Clother, said.

Reports of the detention of 1,000 dismissed municipal workers in the black township of Tembisa are likely to aggravate existing tensions. The Bureau for Information declined to comment on the ground that it was prohibited from doing so by the emergency regulations.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was at the core of major controversy last week, after a defiant speech in which he virtually invited the world to impose sanctions so that South Africa could demonstrate its will and ability to withstand them.

His speech was sharply criticised by Mr Ray Swart of the Progressive Federal Party. Mr Swart said: "He is inviting sanctions as if he

has some sort of death wish. He sounds like a latter-day Ian Smith."

Charges of murder, arson and assault will be brought against 780 people detained under the state of emergency, South Africa's Bureau for Information said. "When formally charged, the accused will have normal access to their legal representatives, and process of law, will take its normal course." This was the first official indication that the number detained under emergency regulations runs at least to hundreds.

Three groups of people had already been charged with attempted murder for trying to "necklace" people by placing a burning tyre around their necks, the bureau said.

The decision to prosecute the 780 detainees contrasts with the failure to charge all but a handful of those interned during the partial emergency between July 21 last year and March 7 this year.

According to the Detainee Parents' Support Committee, more than 7,992 people were detained then, but only about 2 per cent were charged.

The committee said that it plans to appeal to the International Red Cross, Amnesty International and Lawyers for Human Rights to try to persuade the Government to break the silence about arrests. It urged that the names of detainees be published immediately upon detention, saying that it knew of 2,800 people who had been taken into custody or reported missing.

The bomb explosion in central Johannesburg on Tuesday last week was caused by a limpet mine of Soviet origin. A further bomb

exploded outside a police station in Cape Town on Thursday last week, injuring a policeman and a policeman, and bringing to 12 the number of bomb explosions since the declaration of the state of emergency. The explosions have claimed the lives of three women, two white and one Indian. Nearly 100 people have been injured, most of them white. The bombs do not appear to have seriously unnerved whites, but they have certainly brought the reality of the war home to them.

The Citizen, which was founded on money provided secretly by the now-defunct department of information, said: "The blast in central Johannesburg in which six women and two children were injured — one of them a baby — is another example of the utter callousness and unconcern for life and limb that the African National Congress displays."

Archbishop-elect Desmond Tutu condemned the bomb attacks in towns and cities, and called for talks to resolve political differences. Describing the bomb attacks as "acts of terrorism," Bishop Tutu said: "The problems of our country cannot be solved by the violence of injustice, oppression and exploitation, nor by that of those who seek to overthrow such a repressive system."

Blacks suspected that the attacks were the work of rightwingers, while whites blamed them on black radicals. Bishop Tutu said: "There is still much goodwill left. Can't we get together and talk? Can't those recognised as authentic leaders and representatives of all our people get together and talk?"

Government wants free market in broadcasting

A FREE market in television and radio broadcasting with possible "pay-as-you-view" metering to replace the licence system received broad approval from the Government last week.

However, Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, made it clear that legislation based on the Peacock report into future funding of broadcasting would be shelved until after the next general election. He confirmed that ministers do not accept the proposal to weaken regulations on good taste, decency and political balance.

A member of the Peacock committee described one of its most radical proposals — hiving off BBC Radios 1 and 2 to commercial operators who could take advertising — as daft and damaging.

A few Conservative MPs were disappointed that the BBC would not be quickly made to take advertising and to cut the licence fee. However, it seemed that there was little pressure on Mr Hurd from his backbenchers, save for some ritualised criticism of the BBC's supposed anti-Tory bias.

A Cabinet committee chaired by the Prime Minister is to give detailed consideration of the report with publication of a green paper on radio broadcasting scheduled for the autumn. But the broadcasting bill to implement reform will not be presented until after the general election.

The Government is also likely to

have to produce a holding position on the television licence fee before the next election. It has been pegged at £58 until the end of March, 1988, but before then the BBC will need some indication of its likely income for the following period.

Mr Hurd said that the committee's plans for a competitive market in television services "fit well with our general philosophy". But he rejected proposals to put broadcasting on a regulatory footing equal to that of the press on matters of good taste and political balance.

The next licence round begins next year, when the IBA is due to advertise franchises for independent broadcasting contracts for the eight years from 1990. Mr Hurd told MPs that although no decision had been made on the licence auction idea the IBA would be obliged to keep the option open as the franchising procedure began.

The BBC and ITV welcomed the report's conclusion that the BBC should continue to be funded by the licence fee system for the time being, and should not have to take advertising. There was less enthusiasm for privatising Radios 1 and 2 to take advertising.

The director-general of the BBC, Mr Alastair Milne, said: "It remains our policy to try to offer an effective range of programmes to all sections of the public. We believe therefore that Radio 1 and

2 listeners have the same claim to a share of the BBC licence fee as do the listeners to Radios 3 and 4."

The ITV companies were surprised and disappointed that a majority on the committee had advocated putting their franchises up for auction. A tendering system would lead towards concentration on "profit performance rather than programme performance," they said.

By Dennis Barker and John Carvel

But the most spirited clash came within the committee at the report's launch in London.

Professor Alastair Hetherington and Miss Judith Chalmers, the broadcaster, did not accept the committee's majority recommendation that the two most popular BBC radio channels should be hived off. They supported a rival recommendation that the BBC should be given the option of selling off the channels.

Professor Hetherington said: "It is daft because no-one has thought out what would be sold. You cannot sell Jimmy Young, even if you wanted to. It is damaging because it does break up the universality of the BBC's radio services, and it is damaging to the External Services."

The recommendation that ITV franchises be auctioned to the

highest bidder was not daft but unworkable, he said. The Independent Broadcasting Authority would have to choose between franchisers with a track record, of making programmes and newcomers with no record but plenty of money.

The committee makes concrete recommendations only for the first of what it sees as a three-stage process towards a free market pay-per-programme television system in the 21st century.

In stage one, the licence fee would be indexed to the cost of living and the BBC would carry on virtually as at present. In stage two, which the committee admits is speculative, the BBC would go over to a subscription service by pay-channel "well into the 1990s". In the third stage there would be "pay-per-programme" subscription

with an increased number of programme suppliers, of which the BBC would be only one.

The committee suggests that new television sets should be adapted to prevent programmes being seen by anyone not paying a subscription. It suggests a date for this not later than January 1, 1988, and envisages that the device would cost about £25 at today's prices.

Several suggestions are made on how to make paying the licence fee more palatable. They include instalments, and exemption for pensioners and people on supplementary benefit.

The committee wants to reduce the cost of the television licence by charging at least £10 for a car radio and thinks that black and white television licences should be nearer the price of those for colour.

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Police armoured force approved

SIR Kenneth Newman gave a warning last week that a recurrence of what he termed "unprecedented level of savagery" in London riots last autumn could mean police retaliation with plastic bullets, CS gas and armoured vehicles such as those used in Northern Ireland.

The Metropolitan Police commissioner's warning came with the publication of his Public Order Review of his force's action at Broadwater Farm, Tottenham, and Brixton, when PC Keith Blacklock and Mr David Hodge, a press photographer, were fatally injured.

Later, Mr Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, announced in a Commons' written reply that he had given permission for the police to buy 24 bullet proof vehicles and 80 armoured personnel carriers to protect them against gunshots and petrol bombs which were used in last year's riots.

Seven hundred additional radios and 1,500 long truncheons will also be purchased. These truncheons — 2ft. 4in long — would be deployed, Mr Hurd said, by police officers carrying riot shields "only in a situation of extreme disorder, where other

methods have failed or are unlikely to succeed."

Their use could only be authorised by an officer of at least Commander rank, and used under the control and direction of the senior officer in charge at the scene of a riot.

The Home Secretary, who welcomed Sir Kenneth's review, reiterated his backing for the

By Gareth Parry

commissioner over the use, under the threat of extreme disorder, of plastic bullets and CS gas.

Sir Kenneth conceded at a press conference last week that the police had some difficulties in dealing with last autumn's riots. These included the lack of adequate radio communication and the lack of time to brief officers which resulted in abandonment of a contingency plan to deal with trouble in the Broadwater Farm estate.

He said the use of firearms against police in Tottenham for the first time in a riot on mainland Britain made it imperative that police should be prepared, with

armoured vehicles for other such events in the future.

Sir Kenneth said that the public should not be unnecessarily alarmed: "I think the public will understand that when the police are faced with the level of violence with guns, petrol bombs and other quite horrendous instruments that the police need a higher level of capability."

CS gas and plastic bullets were, he said, all weapons of "last resort."

Water cannon are still being tested by the Home Office. But they are, so far, considered too cumbersome to use in narrow streets, where they could themselves become a rioter's target.

Sir Kenneth said that apparatus which could generate a "shrill sound" to divert rioters had been abandoned as unsuitable.

The review rejects creation of a "third force" — or riot police squad — because the force's resources could not afford it.

But Sir Kenneth said that newly formed territorial support groups in each of London's eight police areas which now numbers 800 men would "take us to a point midway to a third force."

Palace fire drills to be enforced

FIRE precautions at royal palaces are to be formally checked as a result of a highly critical report, published last week, on the fire at Hampton Court Palace in March.

The report by Sir John Garrick, recommends that realistic fire drills are carried out. It finds that the fire was probably started by a naked flame in a grass and favour apartment around midnight on March 31.

The body of Lady Gale, aged 86, the widow of General Sir Richard Gale, was found in the main bedroom of her apartment. She died from carbon monoxide poisoning.

There had been previous incidents which might have caused fires in her apartment, says the report, which fails to say exactly where and how the fire started.

The fire destroyed the Cartoon

gallery, a small part of the Wren south gallery, and many works of art.

The report dismisses suggestions that it was started deliberately to destroy the Cartoon gallery panelling, which was evidence in a two-year fraud squad investigation into work done under contract by the Property Services Agency. Papers in the case have been passed

By Susan Tirbutt

to the Director of Public Prosecutions, Scotland Yard said.

The fire was discovered after an intruder alarm was activated at 5.20am, but the automatic fire detection system did not operate until about 6.15am.

Earlier discovery of the fire would not have averted Lady Gale's death, but would have prevented damage.

Sir John could not establish why the fire was not discovered earlier, but probably the automatic fire detection system had been unintentionally made ineffective.

The report offers and then dismisses various possible explanations on how the fire started.

It treats with caution the possibility that smoke detectors had been deliberately covered with polythene to prevent further false alarms. Palace officials had already forbidden this, after finding a detector covered in a room used by one of the "cottage industries".

Detailed recommendations for improving the fire alarm system include putting in a memory facility to record which alarms worked when. More effective fire drills with the fire brigade and palace staff and more training are also recommended.

THE WEEK

UNDER cover of a new security plan, Syrian troops from the elite "special forces" appeared in the streets of West Beirut for the first time since the Syrian army was driven from the Lebanese capital during the 1982 Israeli invasion.

Informal sources said the soldiers — reported 200 in all — arrived in West Beirut from the Syrian-controlled Bekaa Valley to join a small but steadily growing Syrian military presence in West Beirut, temporarily headed by General Ghazi Kanaan, head of Syrian military intelligence in Lebanon and reportedly including five colonels and an 86-man "observer force."

Nicaragua has expelled Bishop Pablo Vega for what the Government described as "anti-patriotic and criminal behaviour". Bishop Vega, vice-president of the Nicaraguan Episcopal Conference, is an outspoken critic of the Sandinistas.

Nicaragua's Catholic prime minister described the expulsion as "a violation of human rights" and the Pope, speaking in Columbia described it as "an almost incredible act".

The Government said Bishop Vega's support of the contra had made him an accessory to a mine landmine explosion in northern Nicaragua which killed 32 civilians on board a bus. The attack happened at Boacayol in Jinotega province, about 100 miles north-east of Managua. The victims included 12 children, 12 women and eight men.

POLICE shot two members of a Sikh extremist gang that rampaged through the Punjab, shooting dead six people and injuring two children.

The gunbattle came during 24 hours of violence in the north Indian state, in which 13 people were killed in disturbances sparked by extremists seeking a separate Sikh nation. So far this month, 23 people have been killed in extremist violence.

Police also said gunmen killed a paramilitary policeman in a village on the New Delhi home of Mrs Gurbinder Kaur Bhat, a Sikh who leads the Congress Party in the Punjab state legislature.

MR JAGJIVAN RAM, for 40 years the standard-bearer of India's Harijan (Untouchable) community, died in New Delhi, aged 78. He was one of the last survivors in the present Parliament of the Indian government that paved the way for independence. After holding ministerial posts in several Congress administrations he joined the Opposition when Mrs Gandhi called an election in 1977. After the Janata Party victory, he was disappointed at not being chosen as the first Harijan Prime Minister, settling reluctantly for the defence ministry and one of two deputy premiers.

THREE more generals have been appointed to the Polish Communist Party Politburo. They are General Jozef Baryla, who oversees social and ideological matters, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, the Internal Affairs Minister, and General Florian Siwicki, the Defence Minister. Gorbachev seal of approval, page 12.

MOZAMBIQUE has accused Malawi of helping South African-backed rebels logistically and materially in their attacks on Mozambique targets. The country's leading military figure, Col. Gen. Sebastiao Mubutu, accused South Africa of trying to divide Mozambique at the Zambezi and Save rivers.

Mozambique and other frontline States have made recent undisclosed and unsuccessful diplomatic approaches to ask Dr Banda's Government to halt its aid to South African military and propaganda efforts whose use of Malawi is increasing.

THE Paris police chief, Mr Guy Fougier, has resigned in a public row with the interior Minister, Mr Charles Pasqua, who accused him on television of rigging crime statistics to please the former Socialist government. His resignation is likely to cast doubt on new security measures in the capital instituted by Mr Pasqua, who has been leading a law-and-order campaign.

THE killing by Peru's armed forces of between 250 and 400 prisoners in three Lima jails has brought the resignation of the Justice Minister, Mr Luis Gonzalez Posada. Mr Gonzalez Posada's dismissal came hours after that of General Maximiliano Martinez, commander of the small Republican Guard paramilitary police force. President Garcia has accused the Republican Guard of having slaughtered more than 100 guerrilla prisoners after they had surrendered at Lurigancho jail.

THE Reagan Administration is getting rid of its ambassador in Honduras, Mr John French, as part of its campaign to step up the pressure on Nicaragua. No successor has been named yet but analysts expect "a real driver" of US policy initiatives to replace Mr French, who drew criticism from his alleged failure to mobilise the Honduran Government into more vigorous protests over the Nicaraguan invasion last March.

A PIANIST from Belfast, Barry Douglas, won the top prize in the International Tchaikovsky competition in Moscow. It was the first time since 1950 that a foreigner has taken first prize without splitting the award with a Soviet musician.

Douglas, 26, of Belfast, who studied at the Royal College of Music in London, impressed listeners with the strength and brightness of his playing. In his performance of Tchaikovsky's Concerto No. 1 in B-flat Minor drew a 10-minute ovation.

NZ lets French agents go

By Campbell Page in Paris and Ian Templeton in Wellington

THE TWO French secret agents involved in the bombing of the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior, which killed a photographer, are to leave jail in New Zealand immediately for three years "confinement" on the South Pacific atoll of Hao, a French territory with an open air cinema, bars, and a night club.

The release of the two agents, Alain Mafart and Dominique Prieur, is part of a UN-mediated deal between France and New Zealand, which also includes an official French apology to the New Zealand Government for the attack on the ship a year ago, payment of nearly 25 million in compensation, and an end to French obstruction of New Zealand imports.

France and New Zealand on Monday welcomed the agreement, arranged by the UN Secretary General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, but there were signs in New Zealand of a political row over its acceptance. The Prime Minister, Mr David Lange, told a news conference: "I feel an amazing sense of vindication. We will receive an unqualified apology from the French Government."

But the leader of the Opposition, Mr Jim Bolger, said that New Zealand had been "humiliated" and Mr Lange "made to look an idiot." He recalled that as recently as April the Prime Minister had said the agents were not for sale.

Such criticisms are likely to be reinforced by details now emerging of life on Hao, a French military staging base for the nuclear test range at Moruroa. According to Mr Lange, Hao is a desolate place with few facilities. But French military

personnel who have served there speak of a pleasant officers' club, bars, and a night club, excellent housing, and sailing and water sports in the lagoon.

In Paris, it emerged that the two agents will have full access to family and friends but will not be allowed to leave the island without the agreement of the two governments. Nor can they give interviews or write for publication.

A spokesman for the French Prime Minister, Mr Jacques Chirac, emphasised that they were being transferred to French territory and the Prime Minister himself referred to the new assignments awaiting them, while Mr Lange underlined that they were not being set free.

The beneficiaries of the settlement were widely known as the Turenge couple because they entered New Zealand as a married couple on forged Swiss passports using the fictitious name.

Both coped well with the stress of trial and imprisonment. Captain Prieur, a 36-year-old woman, passed her time jogging, knitting, and listening to music. Major Mafart, aged 35 and a seasoned campaigner for the intelligence services, pursued his interest in sport and guitar-playing. Mr Chirac on Monday praised "the exemplary dignity" with which both officers had been serving their sentences.

Mr Perez de Cuellar came closer to the New Zealand case than the French position in settling a figure for compensation — \$7 million instead of the \$4 million suggested by Paris and the \$9 million sought by Wellington.

Mr Chirac will also deliver a full and formal apology to New Zealand for the attack on the Rainbow Warrior and the breach of international law.

France will end its war of attrition against New Zealand imports. The French authorities have been using import licences and regulations to block consignments and apply pressure on the New Zealand Government.

In the settlement, France undertakes not to oppose butter imports through the EEC to Britain in 1987 and 1988, and not to take any measures to block meat imports to the EEC.

Mr Lange told reporters that the New Zealand Government regarded the Secretary-General's ruling as a fair and just resolution of the differences between France and New Zealand over the Rainbow Warrior bombing. The ruling specifically met New Zealand's requirements, he said — for an apology, for compensation, for a lifting of trade restraints, and for the continued detention of the two agents.

New Zealand also regarded it as fundamental that a mechanism should be provided for arbitration should any dispute arise, and a three-monthly report is to be made to the UN Secretary-General on the situation of Mafart and Prieur in Hao.

Mr Lange said that the Secretary-General's determination that the two agents should be detained in Hao had "an exquisite irony which will not be lost on the French."

"It is, I believe, an appropriate outcome, albeit one that was unexpected," he said.

Hussein clampdown on PLO

THE Jordanian Government announced on Monday that it is closing down all 25 offices of Mr Yasser Arafat's mainstream Fatah guerrilla group in Amman and expelling a number of PLO personnel.

The decision, which could have profound consequences for Middle East politics, follows growing tension between Jordan and the PLO, which began in February when King Hussein announced he was breaking off political cooperation with the guerrilla organisation. Fatah is the largest component of the PLO.

Jordan's official Petra news agency said that the government decision had been taken in response to a statement by Fatah's Revolutionary Council in Tunis on June 18.

According to Radio Monte Carlo, the expulsion order includes Mr Khalil Al-Wazir, better known as Abu Jihad, Mr Arafat's deputy as

commander of all PLO forces and the most senior Palestinian official still living in Jordan.

"We regret this spirit of revenge because we are trying to preserve brotherly relations," Mr Al-Wazir told reporters in Amman. But he said he believed he would be expelled.

Jordanian officials said that the decision would not affect 12 PLO offices dealing with non-military Palestinian affairs, and it seems likely that members of the PLO's executive committee and departments dealing with the affairs of the Israeli-occupied West Bank will be permitted to stay.

The Jordanian Government statement took care to note that Jordan would continue to work with the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" — a position it has enjoyed since the 1974 Arab summit.

But there was no disguising the fact that King Hussein's move was intended — and widely interpreted — as a grievous blow to Mr Arafat at a time when the PLO is politically and militarily weak and its membership is scattered. The decision leaves open the likelihood that Jordan will step up its recent attempts to win back influence in the West Bank and possibly consider entering peace talks with Israel.

Ma Anna Siniors, editor of the East Jerusalem newspaper Al-Fajr and a leading PLO supporter in the West Bank, said that the Jordanian move meant a final and irrevocable break with the PLO and that Amman would now lose all its remaining influence.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES			
	Starting Rate July 7	Previous Closing Rate	
Australia	2 4135-2 4175	2 3807-2 3858	
Austria	21 35-22 54	22 51-23 54	
Belgium	68 25-68 45	68 42-68 62	
Canada	2 1148-2 1178	2 1237-2 1274	
Denmark	12 38-12 41	12 42-12 45	
France	10 70-10 72	10 69-10 71	
Germany	3 34-3 35	3 34-3 35	
Hong Kong	12 04-12 05	12 04-12 05	
Ireland	1 1070-1 1080	1 1100-1 1110	
Italy	245 44-246 53	247 25-247 54	
Japan	3 763-3 768	3 763-3 77	
Netherlands	10 41-11 42	11 44-11 45	
Portugal	22 81-22 82	22 82-22 82	
Spain	212 54-212 84	213 62-213 81	
Sweden	10 83-10 85	10 88-10 91	
Switzerland	2 72-2 73	2 713-2 717	
USA	1 5420-1 5390	1 5401-1 5410	
ECU	1 5520-1 5520	1 5520-1 5520	
FT 30 Share Index 1347.8 Gold \$344.75			

THE GUARDIAN, July 13, 1988

American scientists to inspect on site

By Martin Walker in Moscow

A GROUP of American scientists were due to leave Moscow this week to install for the first time seismic monitoring devices around the main Soviet underground test site for nuclear weapons at Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan.

The scientists, from the US-based Natural Resources Defence Council, are placing the instruments as part of a private venture, with official US Government backing. But their action could embarrass the Reagan Administration, which continues to base its rejection of any nuclear test ban agreement on the issue of verification.

The team of nine scientists will monitor activity at the

Semipalatinsk site by installing three sets of instruments. They will build up a set of measurements of local seismic activity, and assess the effect of earthquakes and even US nuclear tests.

The result should be a virtually foolproof system to check whether the Russians are abiding by any future test ban treaty.

The team has been welcomed by the Soviet authorities, which are still abiding by a unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons tests. The American scientists have undertaken to provide both the US and the Soviet Governments with data they collect.

There would be useful data to record even if there were no Soviet

nuclear tests in the region during the monitoring period, said Dr Thomas Cockrane, the NRDC's senior scientist, who will lead the group to Semipalatinsk.

"We believe that modern seismic methods make it possible to achieve reliable verification," Professor Mikhail Sodovsky, Director of the Soviet Institute of Geophysics, told the Soviet press agency, Novosti.

"Our national systems can already verify the observance of any ban on testing. However, the US Congress demands a kind of super guarantee. In our view, this is excessive, though we are ready to do extra work with American scientists."

Mr Tolentino and six disaffected forces generals lacked the backing of armed units, which were reported earlier to be advancing into central Manila, or of the public at large. No violence was reported in the capital or elsewhere.

The putsch attempt had appeared doomed after a claim by Mr Tolentino that he had been joined by Mrs Aquino's influential Defence Minister, Mr Juan Ponce Enrile, was quickly denied by Mr Enrile in a radio interview. "I thank them for the offer," Mr Enrile said, "but I am not looking for a new job."

President Aquino, speaking in Mindanao in the south of the country, said earlier that a delegation of senior officers had been sent to negotiate with the rebels but indicated that they did not represent a serious threat to her government. However, all those involved could face charges of sedition, she said. The army chief of staff, General Fidel Ramos, who was also out of town at the time of the attempted putsch, reacted calmly to the news, saying: "We have the situation under control... we have the support of all the services of the army."

A day of confusing and slightly bizarre events began with the announcement by Mr Tolentino, that he was taking over as acting President and was in the process of forming a new government. Mr Tolentino, who ran as former

Marcos loyalists surrender after putsch fails

By our Foreign Staff

A counter-revolution by supporters of the deposed Philippines president, Ferdinand Marcos, collapsed after about 200 rebel soldiers surrendered to the government. A senior military official, Colonel Emiliano Temple, said on Monday the soldiers gave up at dawn after government troops backed by tanks and armoured personnel carriers sealed the area around the hotel in central Manila where the 75-year-old former Foreign Minister, Arturo Tolentino, proclaimed a government in the name of Mr Marcos.

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Mr Marcos's activities in Hawaii have become a source of increasing embarrassment to Washington. The State Department, in a prepared statement, said: "We understand that General Ramos and Defence Minister Enrile are working closely with President Aquino to bring matters under control. The US strongly supports the Government of President Aquino and is against efforts such as these to undermine it."

More optimism about a summit

PRESIDENT REAGAN has for the first time expressed optimism that a summit with the Soviet leader later this year may produce tangible results on arms control, as well as on regional and human rights issues.

In a White House transcript of an interview with the President, he explains that his optimism is based on a letter from Mr Mikhail Gorbachev last week, in which he says the Soviet leader has opened "additional doors" on arms control, on regional conflicts and also on human rights and immigration. The letter was "quite a packet and worthwhile," Mr Reagan said.

Despite President Reagan's apparent confidence that the way to a productive summit has now been opened, Administration officials remain profoundly cautious. Some sceptics are apparently suspicious that the Soviet Union may not make up its mind on a summit until it sees a US answer to its latest arms control proposals, and receives US assurances that US strategic arsenals will be maintained at more or less their present levels, even if the Salt II treaty is technically pronounced dead.

Important progress has been achieved towards a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, according to a senior Soviet official, General Nikolai Chervov, who is on a brief visit to London.

Asserting that "agreement has been reached in principle, on all but one of the major outstanding issues," with only the question of controlling chemical production in the private sector still to be resolved, General Chervov said that the other "minor" differences could be worked out.

Britain is closely involved in the

chemical weapons negotiations. But the Foreign Office was surprised by General Chervov's optimism, and appeared doubtful that any breakthrough had yet been achieved on provisions for compliance with a chemical weapons ban, in particular the circumstances under which the Soviet Union would agree to on-site inspection.

This issue has been as central to the negotiations as the Soviet Union's insistence that the private sector, including multinational companies, must be covered by the provisions of the treaty as well as state-owned facilities.

General Chervov is head of the directorate of the Soviet chief of

staff, and is one of the Kremlin's senior spokesmen on arms control.

Meanwhile, Congressional pressure is building up on the US Administration to halt production of the troubled BigEye chemical bomb in the wake of the latest test data. Pentagon officials judged the most recent tests to be a qualified success, although at least one key component failed repeatedly.

But a bipartisan group of 20 senators wrote to the Defence Secretary, Mr Casper Weinberger, on June 26, saying: "All of us will vote against producing any weapon that has failed its tests for utility, reliability, and effectiveness."

The BigEye bomb, one of several new weapons being developed by the Pentagon to replace existing chemical arms stockpiles, can expect rough congressional treatment later this month. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives are due to consider moves

Drug dealers hanged

TWO Australian heroin traffickers, Brian Chambers and Kevin Barlow, were hanged shortly before dawn in Kuala Lumpur on Monday, after a flurry of last-minute appeals to the Malaysian authorities for mercy or a stay of execution failed.

The two were the first Westerners to hang under Malaysia's tough anti-drugs laws, which prescribe death for anyone convicted of having over 15 grammes of heroin.

Chambers and Barlow, who was born in Stoke and who also held British nationality, were arrested on the resort island of Penang in November, 1983, with 180 grammes of heroin and given mandatory death sentences last July. An appeal failed last December.

Chambers and Barlow were hanged despite appeals for clemency from the Australian and British Prime Ministers and from the human rights group Amnesty Int.

Top historian suspended

By Paul Webster in Paris

A FRAUD perpetrated by extreme rightwingers intended to back the Nazi gas chambers, never existed was condemned by the Universities Minister, Mr Alain Devaquet, last week, when he suspended one of France's top historians from his university post and cancelled a doctorate secretly awarded to a rightwing militant.

The decision came after weeks of protest by human rights organisations, university professors and Jewish organisations against the award of a doctorate to Mr Henri Rousset, aged 60, who has a long history of association with Neo-Nazi groups, including the former Black Internationalists. A local paper revealed that Mr Rousset, a historian specialising in anti-semitic research, had been awarded his doctorate by a secretly convened university jury at Nantes, western France, chaired by the local university's history department's head, Professor Jean-

Claude Riviere. Other universities had refused to consider the thesis, but Professor Riviere, who specialises in medieval Provence, is editor of an extreme rightwing magazine and an active member of extreme rightwing lobby groups.

Another member of the jury which met secretly in the summer recess last year was a leading member of the PFF — the New Forces Party — an extreme rightwing rival to the French National Front.

Mr Rousset, an outspoken supporter of Nazi Germany, described the minister's decision as "intellectual terrorism" and said that he claimed by his analysis, in which he claimed the Germans to murder millions of Jews in gas chambers. He based his 270-page thesis on an examination of the confessions of an SS officer, Kurt Gerstein, who helped to install the first gas chambers in Poland.

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ANC will end violence only when South Africa agrees transfer of power

THE African National Congress is bracing itself for a sustained campaign by the British, American, and other Western governments to "draw its teeth" as a liberation movement.

As Sir Geoffrey Howe prepares to visit South Africa to try to preempt mounting pressures for sanctions against the white minority regime, interviews with senior ANC officials make it clear that the ANC is convinced that a two-pronged Western Strategy is now underway.

The first prong is to try to set up some sort of process of mediation or dialogue as a replacement for sanctions, with the argument that any tightening of sanctions is premature, as long as talks are going on. The second is to press the ANC to call off its armed struggle or "suspend the violence," in order to create, it will be claimed, a better climate for government concessions.

In both cases ANC officials expect a heightening of the long-standing but hitherto spasmodic efforts by Western governments to split the ANC by describing it as Communist-dominated. The aim is expected to focus on describing the ANC as consisting of moderates and hard-liners, with the ANC executive's Communist Party members cast as the latter.

So far the campaign has had little success, partly, as one ANC official put it, because "nothing is being offered by the regime which could conceivably attract non-Communist nationalists. Not even the formality of democracy is being offered, let alone the substance."

The ANC has long had a close link with the South African Communist Party, which was founded ten years after it, in 1922. At the funeral in Mozambique in March of Moses Mabhida, the general secretary of the SACP, Oliver Tambo, the ANC's president, praised the "deep-seated feeling of revolutionary unity and interdependence" between the ANC, the Communist Party, and the trade union movement.

Although the SACP had revolutionary aims long before the ANC espoused them, officials say that in recent debates on key questions such as negotiating strategies and attacks on civilian targets in South Africa the ANC's Communists take differing positions among themselves, and are by no means always more radical than the non-Communists.

The ANC has never publicly acknowledged how many of its 30-member executive committee are Communists. But officials say the figure of 23 alleged by the South African Government is a gross exaggeration. To take just one example, the ANC's general secretary, Alfred Nzo, alleged by Pretoria to be a Communist, is not.

One of the open SACP members is the chief of staff of the ANC military wing, Joe Slovo. He was in the party before it was banned in 1950. Now the party's chairman, he says: "The South African Communist Party always has been and continues to be an influential part of the struggle. We can't be wished away. Our position has been won by contribution, not by manipulation."

Mr Slovo's wife, Ruth First, was murdered by a South African Government letter bomb. "In a sense," he goes on, "the SACP pioneered much of what the national liberation movement now stands for. We were the only non-racial political party in South Africa until last year when the ANC opened its top ranks to whites. We were the first with the concept of majority rule in

the slogan of 'A Black Republic' as far back as 1929.

"I don't want to suggest that we're competing with the ANC, but that was at a time when the ANC was rather moderate, singing 'God Save the King' at the end of public meetings."

The ANC's radicalisation and its close links with the SACP began in the mid-1940s with the then young Turks in the ANC Youth League, like Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, and Walter Sisulu.

Mr Slovo defends the policy of anonymity of SACP members. The party was already working underground for a decade before the ANC was also banned. "No communist party which is forced to work in clandestinity, has ever come out publicly, not in Portugal, Spain, or anywhere else. We would be the first to be targeted, if we all came out." Mr Slovo acknowledges that anonymity makes it easy for opponents to smear the ANC but says that this is one of the realities which has to be faced. The smears would not abate just because the SACP declared its members.

He describes the party's role as being "to act in an uninhibited way to assert the dominant role of the working class in the liberation alliance headed by the ANC." Both the party and the ANC accept this

By Jonathan Steele

dominant role of working people in the coalition of class forces which are fighting for national liberation. "but the ANC cannot and should not commit itself exclusively to workers' aspirations as a class, nor should it act as their political vanguard."

A recent internal party discussion document was obtained by South African Government agents, and publicised by Mr Botha. In it, the party warned against what it called "the liberal" bourgeoisie and their like-minded imperialist friends who triggered off the current series of talks and dialogue with the ANC.

"Let us be clear," the document went on. "The 'liberal' bourgeoisie seeks transformations of South African society which go beyond the reform limits of the present regime but which aim to pre-empt the objectives of the revolutionary forces. Old style apartheid no longer serves their class interests. In addition, external pressures triggered off by an unending people's resistance are taking a terrible toll of their existing and potential economic interests."

The document stressed the need for economic as well as political democracy — "this implies more than an alternation in voting arrangements," and "majority rule in its true meaning." It said the "liberal" bourgeoisie and its foreign friends would try to push the revolutionary forces into negotiations before these were strong enough to impose their basic goals.

"We must not play into their hands by working out compromises for being seen to work out compromises for some hypothetical negotiating table which constitute a retreat from the main aims of the national democratic revolution."

The document takes particular issue with Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, who recently resigned as leader of the main white opposition party the Progressive Federal Party. He has held talks in Lusaka with the ANC. He later met President Botha, who released a transcript of the meeting, in which the former opposition leader said he had ideas for "drawing the teeth" of the ANC and wanted

to discuss them with the head of South African Intelligence.

Other ANC officials have stressed in interviews that the movement is united in not being ready to contemplate a ceasefire until well into any process of negotiations. The precedents of Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, and Rhodesia were that agreement precedes a ceasefire, and not vice versa.

"If we ask people to call off their resistance we're helping to create the illusion that the other side can be trusted," said one official. "It would damage the important momentum which has built up."

A gesture such as the temporary suspension of the campaign of sabotage is also ruled out. "The people are not our puppets. If we were to say 'Let's trust Botha. Let's make a gesture'. I think they would say 'We don't accept that'. There's been one example of bad faith after another." ANC officials cite as the most recent example the experience of the Eminent Persons Group.

The ANC came under pressure from Prime Minister Mubanga of Zimbabwe, President Kaunda of Zambia, and the secretary-general of the Commonwealth, Sir Shridath Ramphal, to listen to the EPG's plan for a simultaneous suspension of the violence on their side along with the release of Nelson Mandela and the legitimisation of the ANC on the other. Two days after the EPG came to the ANC for talks, South Africa attacked ANC offices in Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana.

The issue of targeting places for ANC bombs which might cause civilian casualties is particularly urgent. It is not just a moral argument, but also a question of effectiveness since ANC officials say a high priority now is to break the traditional white consensus behind minority rule.

They have already seen considerable movement by the white power structure but the Rhodesian precedent is constantly in their minds. "The West is trying to find a moderate alternative to Botha, preferably with a black face," said one ANC official. "Chief Buthelezi was at one time being groomed as a kind of South African Muzorewa. Now they're losing confidence in his drawing power but they have not been able to find a credible black leader. The issue of Communism in the ANC is bound to be built up. The trouble for the United States is that the South African issue stands above ideological politics in the world. They can't deal with it like with Nicaragua."

As with Rhodesia, they say that negotiations can only take place on the understanding that the principle of a transfer of power to the majority has already been agreed. This was the basis for the talks which Mrs Thatcher sponsored at Lancaster House. Once that has been accepted by the South African government, temporary arrangements "safeguarding some aspects of white privilege, such as a few guaranteed seats in Parliament, are not excluded when ANC officials speculate on possible concessions."

Short of a government acceptance of the principle of a transfer of power in a united, democratic South Africa, the ANC believes negotiations are premature. Commenting on Sir Geoffrey Howe's hope of setting up a dialogue on his forthcoming trip, one ANC man said "We have had too many top telephones in South African history already. I don't think anyone will take part."

Rekindled Liberty's fitful light

By Alex Brunner in New York

WHEN the Olesiak family sailed majestically past Miss Liberty on the Fourth of July, her copper green coat gleaming in the bright sunlight, the only "huddled masses" in sight were the cheering, waving boaters aboard the thousands of yachts.

It wasn't quite like this from 1880 to 1924, when the golden door swung open and 17 million immigrants — Italians, Slavs, Greeks, and Russian Jews — swarmed into New York in teeming, rat-infested vessels. Ryszard Olesiak, a Solidarity refugee from General Jaruzelski's Poland, his wife, Magdalena, and their two enchanted children arrived in style.

The QE2, with a giant 100-foot Stars and Stripes spread across its starboard side, boomed its grating bass horn. The air resonated with the sounds of the Star-Spangled Banner, the Marseillaise, and, perhaps for the only time during the Liberty 100th birthday party, God Save the Queen. The 700 Chrysler car salesmen, their wives and girlfriends, whose mentor, Lee Iacocca, paid \$7 million to hire the Queen, looked on emotionally as the Olesiahs did their stuff and wept.

A shower of plump pink carnations rained down on the blueish-grey water, and thousands of red, white and blue balloons soared above the Queen sailing past the blimp, casting a garish flying hamburger shadow over the whole scene. "We are very happy to be here," Mr Olesiak pronounced in broken English as a passing fire ship gushed patriotic dyed water jets into the harbour. Streaming towards the Queen and the anchored US carrier, the John F. Kennedy, from Long Island Sound came an armada of yachts, boats, junks, schooners in full colours and tall ships dressed to kill, rehearsing for the Independence Day Sail-past by 40 vessels from around the world — in perhaps the greatest maritime procession since Helen of Troy launched a thousand ships.

Hundreds swarmed around the birthday girl, looking from the high decks of the Queen like soapy clothing rumbling around the green core of a washing machine. As fast as they dropped anchor in search of a ringside seat, US Coastguard cutters would steam up and move them on with the tact of a New York cop.

At stake for the boaters, who sailed west from the Old World, south from New England, and north from the Chesapeake and even Panama, was a view of the first public demonstration of Star Wars technology. President Reagan, with a flair for the dramatic, flipped the switch from his champagne-bathed podium on Governor's Island, sending forth a laser beam with which to light the lifted lamp and bathe Miss Liberty in glorious floodlight, starting bell-ringing, fireworks, and partying across a joyous nation.

For the Olesiahs it was an auspicious welcome to the New World. Standing before a plaster model of Miss Liberty in the Queen's Room, where night club performers do their stuff in white plastic Holiday Inn decor, they must have wondered what they had let themselves in for.

America's newest residents had come to the New World via a refugee camp in Athens, where their request to enter the United States was favourably received by the dreaded Immigration and Naturalisation Service. From there, their sponsors from the Church World Service took them

to Southampton, where they boarded along with the sharp-shooting Chrysler salesmen.

From New York, according to Methodist Bishop Roy Clark, the Olesiahs will be taken to York, Pennsylvania — where Methodist churches have promised to settle them in their new land of freedom. After the culinary and other delights of a QE2 crossing, and a blimp and helicopter salute from overhead, it is certain to be a letdown.

Mr Reagan declared that the restored statue would be "a beacon of hope for mankind". To the Olesiahs and the 300 new immigrants sworn in here that night it meant that, and more.

But not all Americans were able to sail past the Lady and intone Emma Lazarus's words: "Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

The outsiders at the party are the millions of black Americans who passed by the golden door in chains, went through the perils of slavery and share-cropping and now form the underclass in the nation's cities, the native-Navajo Indians, who are being moved from their reservations, once again, the hundreds of "boat people" from Haiti who are herded into camps in Florida, the thousands of Mexicans who are rounded up each week along the Rio Grande, put into cells, and then made to walk back to wretched lives.

As Dr Milton Morris notes in his 1985 Brookings study Immigration: The Beleaguered Bureaucracy, Miss Liberty has not always been what it is cracked up to be. "Nonwhites were virtually excluded for most of the country's history, and currently Salvadorans fleeing from turmoil in their homeland are being denied refuge."

For many black Americans the spirit of Liberty means nothing. "It's a celebration for immigrants and that has nothing to do with me," argues John Hope Franklin, a historian of slavery and visiting professor at Duke University. "To mark their distance for the Liberty proceedings more than 600 Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Hispanics and American Indians gathered in New York last weekend under the banner of the Campaign for Economic and Social Justice to offer a different view of the celebration."

"We saw the type of commercialism that was going on, as well as the lack of representation of people of colour — we felt it was important for us to make a social statement," says Brooklyn's member of the New York State Assembly, Roger Green. "The celebration reflects a historical revisionism. There's not been in any real sense a focus on the fact that our struggle for liberty is ongoing."

A telling poll by US News and World Report found that the spirit of Liberty fails to light the nation's way in the manner in which the media hype would have us believe. When asked if US immigration quotas should be raised, to allow more newcomers to enter, 51 per cent asked for a reduction, 35 per cent wanted the thing left alone and just 8 per cent were in favour of an increase. This despite the belief by half the respondents that the ethnic mix of the United States was "a major reason for the nation's greatness".

Molotov back in favour

By Martin Walker in Moscow

THE former Soviet prime minister whose name inspired the Molotov cocktail has formally lost "non-person" status to which he has been condemned for 25 years.

Vyacheslav Molotov, now aged 96, was interviewed in the Russian-language edition of Moscow News, and a summary article was published by Tass. There were unconfirmed reports 18 months ago that Molotov had been readmitted into the Communist Party, but this is the first public rehabilitation of one of the last old Bolsheviks who helped overthrow the Tsar in 1917.

At the 1961 party congress, he was accused of helping draw up the death lists for Stalin's purges, expelled from the party's Central Committee and finally expelled from the party in 1964.

In the interview, Molotov said he now receives "a large pension" and lives in considerable comfort at a dacha in Zhukovka, the prestigious country retreat near Moscow.

The main point of this public endorsement of the old man was apparently to publicise his support for the new style of Mikhail Gorbachev's Government. "I keep abreast of all current events," he said "I am inspired by the changes now taking place in our life."

But such an article carries another, more discreet implication for the Soviet audience. It re-emphasises Mr Gorbachev's point that there is such a thing as honourable retirement for old servants of the party, and that a loss of office need not mean loss of privilege, far less loss of life.

AN officious, wavy haired gentleman from the BBC yelled at a couple strolling along the lip of the crater "You — move out of the way. We are filming."

TV gentlemen do that the world over, unscathed. But an old Scotsman in full kilts roared at this one: "Say please when you talk to people — and get your hair cut."

We were with the army now — the stoop-shouldered remnants of Kitchener's Army — in the most intimate of the events forming the last big commemoration of the dead of the Somme battlefield in the lifetimes of its survivors. Seconds later, a maroon went up in the summer sky, as it did at the same time 70 years ago, at 7.30am on July 1, 1916.

In 1916, that was a signal for the detonation of four 80,000lb landmines, one of which blasted the 90ft crater on which the 400 of us stood at La Boisselle.

The explosion in turn was a signal for the offensive which brought 60,000 British casualties in its first hour and 1.2 million dead on both sides in four months. The landmines did little good. Although the explosives for it were taken down the secret 250 yard tunnel, this was the few dozen yards too far away to collapse the front line German trenches. But that was the story of the Somme.

Swearing by the slain never to forget

from the diary of Tom Easton, a 19-year-old. "The great mine exploded at 7.30am. . . men fell on every side screaming from the severity of their wounds. Had they lived, would they ever have forgiven?"

A 12-year-old boy, David Southworth, stared down at us and most sternly spoke two lines from the anti-war poet Siegfried Sassoon: "Look down and swear by the green of the spring that you will never forget. Look down and swear by the slain of the war that you will never forget."

After this, the open air congregation threw poppy petals into the crater and placed little wooden remembrance crosses all along its perimeter.

David's declamation was the closest anybody came to trying deliberately to make us feel chastened. The big event, led by the Duke of Kent, 3½ hours later beneath the great arch in the British Commonwealth cemetery at Thiepval was, if anything, upbeat in tone.

Reading from the Funeral Oration of Pericles, the Duke said: "In the hour of trial, the one thing they feared was dishonour . . . for the whole earth is the sepulchre of heroes. Monuments may rise, tablets be set up to them in their own lands, but there is an abiding memorial that no pen or chisel has traced. It is not on stone or brass, but on the living hearts of humanity."

The 70 British and French veterans seated in places of honour in front of the Duke, Mr George Younger, the Defence Secretary, and French VIPs, had feared many

more things than dishonour: death, mutilation, rats, separation from their loved ones and — as happened to them — the slaughter of much of their generation. But they looked on impassively and politely.

The service paper said: "Tout le monde chante Oh God Our Help In Ages Past"; and for a few moments it was possible to believe that much of Europe was here in spirit at least, reflecting on one of the twentieth century's great Golgothas.

Luytens's 141ft high triple arch, inscribed with the names of 73,000 soldiers with no known grave, is flanked by sycamore, poplars, copper beeches, and silver birches. But it still stands out starkly among the undulating folds of Somme farmland, waist high with young corn.

A layman might say that the countryside was like Norfolk, rather flat. But to the veterans it seems with bridges, salients and redoubts and stumps of trees. "The Somme doesn't look like anything terrestrial any more," the French writer, Pierre Loti recorded at the time . . . "a squashed brown mush into which everything sinks."

"It is almost beyond comprehension," the Army's Chaplain General, Archdeacon Frank Johnston, said in his sermon at Thiepval. "The enormity of the losses, the horrendous suffering, the confusion, the awesome effect on those of us who stand here. What a person remembers makes him the kind of person he is."

The Last Post, from the sound chamber of the arch, was played as

perfectly as most of us will hear it in our lifetimes. But this congregation contained experts.

"It was a bit too slow at the beginning," one veteran said after the beginning. A pipe followed with "The Flowers of the Forest Are All Gone Awa," a lament written for the loss of the Flower of Scots chivalry in the Battle of Flodden Field, in 1415. But it proved just as evocative of the Flower of 1916.

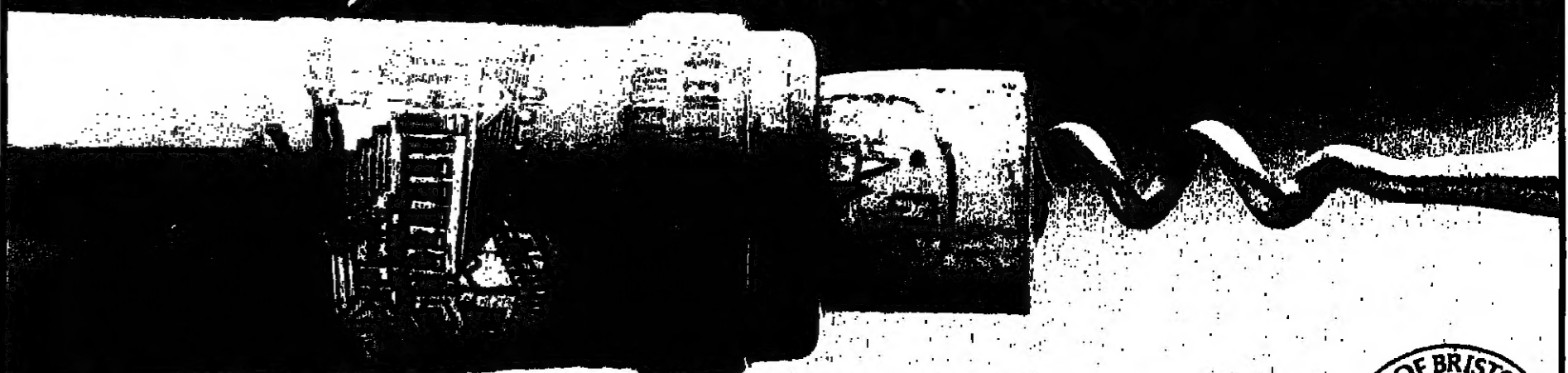
It sent tears coursing down the faces of three old soldiers sitting in front of the Duke, then two 90-year-old British survivors took two minutes to toil and sweat up the memorial's 25 steep steps alongside their French counterparts to lay a wreath "To Our Comrades."

But the war fractured our lives too. For the first time last week Mrs Betty Bower, aged 75, of Newcastle, laid a wreath at the foot of the arch bearing the name of her brother Ted, killed at the Somme at the age of 18. She had only just found his name. "It has been the dream of my life to do this," she said.

A few feet away another Newcastle woman, Mrs Annie Patterson, aged 73, discovered the name of her father, Will Coulson, killed 70 years ago last week at the age of 32, when she was three years old. "I have found you," she said to the name on the memorial bearing the names of 73,000 others. "I have found you at last."

She has the dimmest memory of her father going off to war. "I remember I fell down the front doorstep and he ran and picked me up," she said. "You can tell from photographs that he loved holding me in his knee — To think of all the love and comfort I have missed all these years."

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Water under the bridge

IF privatisation's epitaph — like that of Keats — becomes "writ in water," then the Government will have no one to blame but itself. The shelving of plans to sell off the monopoly supply of water to the private sector ends, at least for the moment, the most ill-conceived privatisation of them all. Ill-conceived, because short of putting a Peacock meter in the air we breathe (but let's not put ideas into anyone's head) the Government was proposing to denationalise the most "natural" of all the monopolies for which there is no substitute. You can't take your business elsewhere because there is no elsewhere, only one tap coming into your house. Nor does water have any of the other benefits claimed by privatisation. The pressure towards increased efficiency posed by threat of bankruptcy hardly applies. Stand up the Minister who would allow a water authority to go bankrupt?

Of the 11 advantages of privatisation listed in the February white paper there is barely one which could not be achieved without having off. Raising money in the City (instead of the Treasury), profit-sharing, reducing ministerial intervention, the creation of a watchdog body, diversifying into tourism, paying higher salaries and so on: all of these things can and, probably should, be done anyway. The problem arises because the Government constantly, and

falsely, equates privatisation with deregulation. If Thames Water wants to launch new initiatives, from providing plumbing services to opening marinas, then let it do so. Indeed, the interim period before water is duly privatised (if the Conservatives are returned to office) offers an excellent opportunity to see just how a nationalised water authority could cope with limited deregulation by using its assets as it wants.

What this is all about is not water on tap, but cash on tap. And that, in the end, was why it failed, because no one looked beyond the bottom line. The Government saw the water industry as a quick way to raise anything from £4 to £8 billion in cash which could be recycled into a reduction in the standard rate, an unpopular privatisation pay for tax cuts which, so opinion polls tell us, hardly anyone seems to want.

And then came the problems. Financially, the City did not see the industry, with the possible exception of Thames, as a growth market. The prospect of charging by usage (through meters) would almost certainly lead to a decline in consumption, which would mean that profits would have to come from manipulating whatever price restraint formula was adopted. There were reports of having to write off much of the industry's debts to make it more attractive and of the

extreme difficulty of privatising all the authorities at once. This coincided with growing environmental worries about the proposed water companies being torn between maximising profits and protecting the countryside, monitoring the effluent discharge into rivers, and the conservation of flora and wildlife. And with another lobby, including the industry's main union, preparing to fight a legal battle about whether the water authorities were really owned by local councils rather than Government, the Cabinet finally gave way at the knees: it postponed a bill which was controversial even within its own party and which could have produced a messy dogfight during a period when pre-electoral tranquillity was required by the party managers.

This won't earn many Brownie points for Mr Ridley, the high priest of privatisation, who has already had to postpone the flotation of British Airways. The money for the tax cuts will, doubtless, be found from elsewhere, from British Airways and British Gas and from selling the remains of Sir Winston Churchill's investment in BP. And, (but irony, if the Chancellor is still short of the cash needed to cut taxes, he will now be able to do what he did last year and force water charges up by more than the authorities themselves thought necessary. Taxes may not be writ in water.

A bad night at the opera

WHAT'S wrong with booing at the opera, for goodness sake? They sometimes boo for half an hour at Bayreuth. In Italy, loud denunciation is the norm. So the "full two minutes" of audience disapprobation that greeted the curtain of Covent Garden's new production of *Fidelio* hardly ranks as a totally new phenomenon in the operatic world, even if it is still newsworthy for the reserve of a stolid British audience to break down in such a way.

Booing is a tricky subject at a time when very wise people are warning that Britain is becoming a job society. To some, booing at the opera feels uneasily like the upmarket equivalent of football hooliganism. There's a tendency around that says well-brought-up people, enjoying seats costing 30-odd quid a time, should set an example. And, of course, there was more than a bit of Hooray Henrydom at work last week, just as there was when the Jockey Club members wrecked the Paris premiere of *Tannhäuser* in 1961. Sir Colin Davis, the Royal Opera's music director for 15 years, has always had a claque of opponents and there is no doubt that they took their opportunity to give him a noisy send-off in this, his final production. The bulk of the booing, though, was clearly from people who didn't like what they heard and (more particularly) saw. That doesn't make their booing a nice event. But at least it showed that they cared. At least it showed that there are people in this country who aren't so intimidated by the arts elite that they can't give voice to their own opinions. Why should people applaud all the time? We need more booing in Britain, not less.

Which is not to say that the bovers were right about *Fidelio*. Covent Garden audiences are of a cultural conservatism exceeded only on the other side of the Atlantic. If they had their way, it would be one *Aida* after another. There would be no place for risk-taking. No Berg or Britten, even, let alone any Maxwell Davies or Stockhausen. No forward-looking productions from Götz Friedrich or the current villain, Andrei Serban. Even as things are, the conservatives have been able to use the public sector opera cash crisis to lever Covent Garden's artistic policy — such as it is — their way. Most of the exciting operatic ideas in Britain these days are therefore to be found at the Coliseum or in Wales rather than in Bow Street. It is very much to Sir Colin Davis's credit, however, that in his period in charge at Covent Garden he has consistently tried to push the artistic boundaries outwards rather than inwards. That involves taking risks and making mistakes. Even if the new *Fidelio* is a failure, it is better to have a policy which produces failures which are over-ambitious in their desire to say something different rather than failures which have no ambition at all beyond providing aerial wallpaper for the rich. (Review, page 20).

When police carry guns

THERE will be very few people who are completely satisfied with the outcome of the trial of PC Brian Chester for the killing of five-year-old John Shorthouse. This is not to say that the Stafford Crown Court jury which acquitted PC Chester reached a perverse verdict. Anyone who makes that claim is simply looking for any excuse to attack the police. The jury were faced with a horrendously difficult choice between inflicting judicial punishment on a police officer for what was beyond any doubt an accidental killing and acquitting him, an action which would leave the death unpunished in any way. It was always hard to believe that the jury would not choose the latter course if the evidence allowed them to do so. It did — and they have duly done so. That doesn't make it a clean cut or a pleasant verdict. Yet, in the end, it is difficult to believe that a conviction would have been any more just.

That still leaves big questions unanswered. First and foremost, there is the question of the Shorthouse family to consider. They have lost their son. He was killed by a police officer. It is impossible to disagree with the bereaved mother who said that she still holds the police "totally responsible" for her son's death. It is extremely important, not just for the individuals involved, but also for the police force, that the police accept corporate responsibility, even if not criminal guilt, for the killing. There must be some form of compensation to the family from the police. It seems unlikely that the Shorthouses

qualify under the (in any case not very generous) criminal injuries compensation scheme. But the last thing that anyone should want to see now is for the Shorthouses to be subjected to the indignity and humiliations of a long-drawn-out civil action for damages and compensation. What is needed, surely, is a quick police commitment to a substantial ex gratia payment. The local chief constable should not now.

The Shorthouse case is a landmark in the development of police arms policy. Like *Waldorf* before it, the shooting occurred because British police have trained too many police too perfunctorily in the handling of arms and because the officers in overall command of such cases have not exercised the appropriate degree of supervision. It is clear that it is the guns and the men in the front line who have been making the policy, rather than the supervisors. The court decision, however inadvertently, may well have added to the belief that the operational officers can make their own rules and get away with them. It is important to nip that response firmly in the bud now. Already, since Shorthouse, some forces have begun to restrict the numbers of officers getting gun training, in the hope of making it a more specialist skill. That is not enough. There has got to be a real overhaul of the terms under which guns are issued, carried, and used by the police. Unless that happens, we will all feel sorry for the Shorthouses but nothing will have been done to prevent exactly the same accident happening again.

Opec and Britain's simplistic oil policy

OPEC's manifest failure to implement effective quotas has prolonged, for the foreseeable future, the unexpected luxury (as long as you are not an indebted oil producer like Mexico) of low oil prices. There is a danger, though, that it will kill us into a false sense of security about future energy supplies. Britain's approach has been almost disarmingly simplistic. It doesn't believe in energy monopolies abroad: only at home. It has steadfastly refused to join Opec because that would diminish competition, yet it will happily leave British Gas an undisturbed monopoly after privatisation. It believes that prices should best be left to the market mechanism (another reason for not joining Opec) yet at home it unashamedly forces electricity, gas and water prices up by more than the utilities say that the market demands.

This Jekyll and Hyde stuff is an energy policy of sorts, but it ducks long-term problems that will not go away. By ignoring Opec pleas for restraint in favour of maximising production, the Government has ensured that our limited oil reserves will be exhausted sooner rather than later. This opens the prospect that the UK will be running out of oil some time in the 1990s when Opec (quite likely led by much more militant people than today) will be exploiting

are-acquired stranglehold on world supplies. Britain's role is pivotal. As the sixth largest producer (at 2.7 million barrels a day) we are big enough to affect any agreements to restrain output, the success or failure of which is highly dependent on marginal supplies. Had Britain decided to reduce output by say, 600,000 barrels a day (which would have probably triggered a proportional response from Norway and maybe from other reluctant Opec members) then surplus output would have been mopped up and prices would have risen; quite possibly by enough to leave Mr Lawson's tax revenue unchanged.

By helping to bring about a very cheap oil policy the Government has worsened the outlook for the coal industry because competition from cheap oil brings down the price of coal, thereby closing more pits, which in turn means a heavier burden on the taxpayer for unemployment pay and social security. By pursuing a policy which accelerates the depletion of indigenous oil supplies by the 1990s the Government has made Mr Peter Walker's claim — that Britain needs to rely more heavily on nuclear power stations in future — look like a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Britain's position, as one of the very few

industrialised nations self-sufficient in energy, means that a cheap energy policy is not, unlike other countries, necessarily in our best interests. Nor, in terms of oil, is it necessary in the interests of the wider world. Sure, if it meant cheap oil in perpetuity. But if temporary profligacy is punished by even greater long-term dependence on an increasingly unstable Middle East, the need for a far-seeing energy policy is merely underlined.

Opec's share of the world market (excluding the Eastern bloc) is likely to rise this year to almost 40 per cent (compared with under 38 per cent last year and 66 per cent at its peak) thanks to its policy of trying to recoup lost market share. The price of Brent crude slipped further last week to \$11. a barrel. This followed the inconclusive meeting of members of Opec in Yugoslavia who, although no longer formed into an effective cartel, still have it in their power (since several are producing considerably below capacity) to reduce prices even further to gain a bigger share of the market. It is commonly supposed that, at around \$10, even President Reagan would take action not only to protect small American producers, but also the country's strategic capability. Always remember though that there is much more to energy policy than cheap prices.

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

A 'certain idea' of liberty

By André Fontaine

BARTHOLOMEW is no Michelangelo. Nobody would dream of including the good old Statue of Liberty, now 100 years old, among the world's greatest masterpieces of sculpture. Yet few monuments in the world are charged with such emotion. It is because for tens of millions of human beings its silhouette finally glimpsed through the fog at the end of an exhausting voyage signified that the new life for which they had so yearned was at last about to commence.

Their descendants have forgotten the heart-breaks and disillusionments that all too often followed afterwards. All they have to do is contrast their own well-being with the harrowing poverty of these "tired... poor... huddled masses yearning to breathe free", to whom Emma Lazarus's poem, inscribed on the statue's pedestal, promised happiness on earth.

But the copper Statue of Liberty that the French people offered the Americans was supposed to "enlighten the world", not just the New World. As if our forebears had anticipated, at a time when isolationism — non-entanglement — carried the weight of dogma for a day of Uncle Sam's children, that all would come when the United States would play a determining part in the continual struggle between totalitarianism and liberty.

From Napoleon to de Tocqueville, Thiers and Marx, the greatest minds of the 19th century had glimpsed the role that America would play in the 20th century. They had appraised the immense power that its people would derive from the fact of having a homeland, not inherited as is the case for most of the rest of the world's population, but chosen, and chosen for its ideas. Better still, chosen for the dream it embodied.

The "American dream". We have all been talking about it in the verbal tide set off by the anniversary? But have we noticed that the phrase is used only in connection with America? It has never occurred to anybody to celebrate a German, French, British, Russian, Japanese dream or whatever, quite simply because in all these cases it would be hard to find any identification between the nation and an ideology.

The United States, on the other hand, came into being when its founding fathers subscribed to a common credo whose basis is precisely liberty and which was confirmed by generations of immigrants.

This idyllic picture has its dark side. The "equality of conditions" which was "carried away" de Tocqueville to the point that he saw it as the "focal point where all his observations came to end" is today but a distant memory.

Poverty, violence and illiteracy are not myths. The celebration of liberty does not mean that it says for everybody, especially not for the people who lived in the country before the whites arrived there. Nor for the blacks, who could not possibly forget the fact that their ancestors were for the most part taken there by force as slaves, even if nobody today is surprised to see some of them managing the destinies of big cities like Washington DC, Chicago and Los Angeles.

Nielsen is undoubtedly paying the price of highly controversial



There is also the fact that the more people subscribe to the dogma underpinning the State, the greater the risk of seeing the State in question succumbing to the temptations of pride. Reagan-Rambo is not quite free of this danger. In February 1982, he said: "I've always believed this continent was an exceptional place whose destiny was exceptional. I believe our destiny is to be the beacon of hope to all of mankind."

Fine. Better have a Head of State who sees himself as a "beacon of hope" than a self-acknowledged candidate for domination. But when you believe you have been invested by Providence with a planetary mission and when you possess unparalleled economic, military, cultural and media muscle for carrying it out, you naturally tend not to be too particular about the moral commitment and attachment to democracy of your docile allies, and on the contrary to consider as insignificant, not to say intolerable, the reservations and objections of those who are less tractable. The lack of understanding shown to France's refusal in April to allow American bombers bound for Tripoli and Benghazi to overfly its territory is just one more example of an already long list of what Henry Kissinger in a benign moment described one day as "transatlantic misapprehensions".

It is not very effective to wax

Mulroney puts faith in his Quebecers

CANADA'S Progressive Conservative Party Prime Minister chose the eve of Dominion Day to make the most extensive reshuffle of his government since taking power slightly less than two years ago.

That coincidence is certainly not fortuitous. With his popularity sinking disquietingly over the last few months, Prime Minister Mulroney needed to make a resounding gesture to regain even a momentary psychological advantage in public opinion.

Increasingly criticised for indecision and for his lack of firmness, the Canadian leader, who had been put off the decision since the beginning of the year, has gone about it squarely. Eight new faces have been brought in while six former ministers have been dropped, among them being First Deputy Prime Minister and Defence Minister Erik Nielsen, a historic figure in Canadian conservatism.

Nielsen is undoubtedly paying the price of highly controversial

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced on Monday last week the biggest reshuffle of his cabinet since taking office in September 1984. There are no less than eight new ministers in the present cabinet and 17 members of the outgoing cabinet have been given different posts.

activities which attracted parliamentary disapproval. He had in fact admitted that some 20 years ago he had bugged the House of Commons in Ottawa to spy on his Liberal opponents. Coming on top of previous scandals which in a very short time led to the resignation of four ministers, the incident helped to destabilise a government which had been triumphantly elected in September 1984. No party in Canada has ever had so substantial a parliamentary majority.

Mulroney by no means deserves his dwindling prestige. In the economic sphere particularly, his government can point to positive achievements: growth last year, though falling short of projections, did reach 4.4 per cent which, in times like these is quite an excel-

Pinochet in no mood to quit

GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET's government went to great lengths in an attempt to counter the 46-hour nationwide general strike called on July 2 and 3 by the Civic Assembly, a body formed in April and comprising most of Chile's social and labour union organisations. Civic Assembly, which proposes

members of his own military junta, General Matthei and General Stange. The two generals have, however, assured him of their "loyal support" during the next two years.

General Pinochet has other trump cards. The leaders of the two main Opposition political groupings — one with a Christian

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to transcend the differences dividing the leaders of the main Opposition political groups, advocates non-violence and passive resistance. With the threat of court action hanging over their heads, its organisers feel they have made a preliminary breakthrough and the brought home the fact that what the vast majority of Chileans, whether of the left or the right, want is a peaceful and democratic transition. This was already known. They hope to be able to organise, before the year is out, an open-ended general strike to force Pinochet to negotiate or resign.

Wide publicity was given to the watchwords of the July 2 and 3 strike. Radio stations with ties to the Christian Democratic movement recommended to their listeners to spend the two days with their families and reported the Civic Assembly slogan: "All together at the same time." The "nationwide general strike" was made out to be the most significant protest action against the regime since the 1973 coup d'état.

The two days of passive resistance, but also street violence, took a heavy toll — seven killed, dozens injured and several hundred arrested. The harshness of the repression enabled the government to prevent the demonstrations from spreading.

At first sight, the strike movement would appear to have been less widespread than the *protestas* organised in 1983 and 1984. Anyway, there is no question of Pinochet taking notice of this latest warning. He intends to stay in office until the end of his mandate in 1989, and is even thinking of running for another term, a prospect viewed with some reservations by some sections of the armed forces and also by two



Pinochet trump cards

admiration for President Reagan. Mulroney refuses to follow the Reaganite policy of slashing social expenditure. And this is doubly inconvenient in that it prevents him from narrowing the substantial budget deficit and irritates hardline capitalists who are otherwise normally well disposed towards him.

In the difficult times that Mulroney, an English-speaking Quebecer, is going through, he seems to be banking heavily on the few politicians from his native province who have always stood by him. At any rate, it is to Quebecers that he has decided to entrust such key ministries as Employment, Energy, Industry and Immigration. Four of the eight new ministers come from the Province of Quebec. Which is one way for Mulroney to show the Quebecers, who rallied to him two years ago but subsequently turned away from him to back the Liberals, that he has not forgotten them.

(July 2)

Jaruzelski gets the Gorbachev seal of approval

By Jan Krauze

WARSAW — The tone was set at the very outset on Sunday, June 29 by General Wojciech Jaruzelski when he began reading the report of the party's central committee. "Five years ago," he said, "an extraordinary congress was held in this hall. Today it is an ordinary congress that opens." The First Secretary's satisfaction matched what appears to have always been his great ambition — to turn his country into a normal and well-ordered socialist country where everything, including party congresses, had its proper place. In short, an "ordinary" country.

On this point though Sunday was not a complete success. At the very moment Jaruzelski was addressing the gathering from the podium, thousands of demonstrators in Poznan succeeded in forming a procession to shouts of "Liberty, Rights, Solidarity" before they were dispersed by baton-wielding police. It must be said the authorities took a risk by opening the 10th congress of the party in the presence of the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, on the same day as the 30th anniversary of the Poznan workers' revolt. Did they think that the police, with their long experience and highly developed tactics, would put down the slightest attempt to hold a demonstration, as is now practically always the case on every sensitive date?

The presence of the Polish primate, Cardinal Glemp, in Poznan would appear to have somewhat complicated the job of the law-enforcement authorities and facilitated that of the demonstrators (the primate's arrival was in theory unconnected with the anniversary, even if Cardinal Glemp did refer in his homily to the 75 victims of the repression and the authorities' cynicism at the time).

As soon as the ceremony ended, a crowd of 5,000 surged purposefully towards the monument erected five years ago in memory of the 1956 dead. Naturally, the police finally managed to stop the crowd's movement, disperse it and arrest a number of people. But the demonstration had in fact lasted half an hour, which is a long time in Poland today.

Sunday evening there were still around 10,000 people in Warsaw to attend the traditional "mass for the country" which took place amid imposing police precautions. And this at precisely the same moment that the World Cup soccer final was being televised from Mexico.

These were perhaps only pinpricks on the by now thickened hide of the government, but at least they are a reminder that the



Mr Gorbachev meeting workers at a machine plant in Warsaw last week with General Jaruzelski (left).

past, the "extraordinary," is always just around the corner.

On the other hand, everything went off according to schedule, right down to the tiniest detail, in the great hall of the Palace of Culture. Soon after the Polish leaders and distinguished guests had arrived and Gorbachev was getting ready to sit down, there was a resounding fanfare of trumpets. The "central committee's flag" burst into the hall and was saluted with trumpet blasts from soldiers in ceremonial uniform. Coming from General Jaruzelski himself, who was in civvies for the occasion, it was a reminder that the army had rendered the Party a great service in December 1981.

Gorbachev, who sat on Jaruzelski's right and was introduced by him as a "great friend" of Poland, received a standing ovation.

The central committee report, which took Jaruzelski almost four hours to read out, did not reveal anything special. What the members of the State apparatus and the nomenklatura will basically note in it is the announcement of a large-scale operation to reappraise the cadres. The idea is to try to ensure that responsible posts are filled by people with the required qualifications,

which in practice is extremely difficult.

According to the socialist system's rules, it is in fact the Party which "recommends," hence appoints, candidates to all senior posts. General Jaruzelski is certainly not thinking of doing away with the practice, but he would like candidates' merits to be carefully judged and changes in assigning posts accordingly decided at every level, from ministries down to plant level. This is quite an ambitious programme, which, as Jaruzelski himself pointed out, will require much "firmness and tact."

The First Secretary also stressed the need to continue with economic reforms, while acknowledging that they had run into major difficulties. One of the prime goals — productivity — has made little progress. But he urged that efforts continue to be made and picked out the priority tasks for the coming years — food, housing, education, health, environment and better income distribution.

In the political sphere, the general repeated his usual analysis of the '80s crisis by explaining that the vast majority of Solidarity's former members were honest advocates of socialism who had been taken in by "counter-revolutionary fanatics and

other renegades." Ruling out all leniency towards the regime's opponents and once more branding the underground Solidarity movement's activists as agents of foreign powers, Jaruzelski referred to the possibility of "giving another chance" to the "perpetrators of certain categories of crimes against the State."

It would not be an amnesty (the word was not mentioned), but a reduction of specific sentences. For some time now there have been unofficial rumours that measures of clemency could be taken after the party congress ends. But previous experiences dictate caution. General Jaruzelski had once before promised a similar measure before last autumn's elections. In fact, however, all the best known opponents were excluded from the measure. At any rate, the authorities will have a very wide field to choose from when it comes to indicating who will benefit from reductions of sentences considering that the numbers arrested have been rising lately.

The First Secretary also hinted at measures to benefit those convicted of crimes. This is urgently needed as Polish jails are heavily overcrowded.

Jaruzelski had some rather harsh words for the United States, but considered against the background of the violent anti-American propaganda in the press what he said seemed to be "relatively" mild. Of all the West European countries, he expressed an interest only in Federal Germany: nothing, apart from the revenge-seekers, he said, would hamper good relations between Warsaw and Bonn (the West German Social Democratic Party, along with Greece's PASOK, are moreover the only two Socialist parties to have sent observers to the congress).

All the same he did cause a minor surprise, but in quite an unexpected area when he proposed that "all the Communist and worker parties" meet shortly "to determine jointly" ways of searching for peace.

This is probably a skilful way of reviving the tradition — but only to talk about peace — of big world conferences of Communist parties that Moscow has not succeeded in organising for a long time. Public calls for such events made earlier by representatives of smaller Communist parties have gone unheeded. This would appear to be the first time that the leader of a big socialist country has put the idea forward and in Gorbachev's presence, that is, with his approval.

(July 1)

Government runs into flak on nationality bill

THE "PASQUA BILL" (draft bill sponsored by Interior Minister Charles Pasqua) on the entry into, and residence in, France of foreigners has yet to be adopted in parliament, and already there is another draft bill in the works aimed at amending the 1973 nationality code. The reforms, which were a plank in the joint election platform of the UDF (Union pour la démocratie française)-RPR (Rassemblement pour la République) and were confirmed by Prime Minister Jacques Chirac in his policy speech in the National Assembly, are still being hammered out at the Justice Ministry.

The extreme rightwing Front National jumped the gun on April 21 by coming up with a draft proposal for a thoroughgoing amendment of the 1973 code. The RPR has just made a similar initiative, though it is less radical. The draft bill proposed by Pierre Mazeaud (RPR, Haute-Savoie) and all the members of the Parliamentary RPR goes well beyond the intentions credited to the government.

Should it be seen as a move to occupy the ground and prevent National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen from scoring points? Or is it a bid to influence the government, if not to twist its arm? Chirac has already considerably toned down Pasqua's draft, and some RPR members of parliament

doubtless do not want him to subject the nationality proposals to the same treatment. But it is doubtful that all the signatories of Mazeaud's draft bill have properly read the text which in its present form could send the defenders of immigrants into a fury and give centrist members of parliament a lot of problems.

Mazeaud proceeds from the argument that, *ius soli* (the rule that a child's citizenship is determined by its place of birth) has "lost its usefulness". He holds that such "involuntary acquisition" of nationality by the fact of being born in France was formerly intended solely to increase the number of military conscripts and has lost its "justification".

The RPR's draft bill allows only one form of acquiring French nationality — when a French citizen adopts a foreign child. All other applicants would have to go through naturalisation procedures and be "judged worthy" of French citizenship. All this would mean doing away with 25 articles of the code (23, 24, 33, 37 to 58) and amending some 15 others.

In particular, Mazeaud is considering dropping Article 23, which automatically confers French citizenship on a child of a foreign parent when it is born in France.

The provision is especially helpful to Algerians and "produced" some 20,000 new French citizens in

1983. Mazeaud, who is the RPR vice-chairman of the Laws Commission, also wants to drop Article 44 which makes any child born in France of a foreign parent, who has himself been born abroad, a Frenchman at the age of 18 on condition he had not objected to it in the year preceding his attainment of majority. Some 17,000 young people took advantage of this provision in 1983.

By Robert Solé

The RPR draft bill also wants to end the possibility of acquiring nationality through marriage (10,300 cases in 1984; it will be no longer possible to become French by making a simple declaration after six months of living together. The candidate for naturalisation in this way would have to put his case to the authorities, but he would have no guarantee that his petition would be accepted. In naturalisation cases (18,500 applications accepted in 1984), the authorities in fact can reject an application without giving any explanation.

"Acquisitions of nationality are automatic today, but naturalisations are very difficult," says Mazeaud. "The former must be limited and the latter facilitated." But this does not prevent providing for a sort of examination

for the candidate without academic qualifications. The test will be designed to "determine that he knows French, French history and the institutions of the Republic." The foreigner "would appear before a board" in conditions to be established by decree.

Another new departure, inspired by the United States, is the taking of the oath. The candidate for naturalisation would have to declare in public and before the presiding judge: "I swear loyalty to France and obedience to the Constitution of the Republic. I pledge allegiance to the French Republic and renounce all allegiance to any States, of which I could have nationality, even involuntarily."

The naturalised Frenchman will be given a regular identity card, but he would not be sure of keeping it for all that. The RPR draft bill in fact provides for the following: "The person who has become naturalised French and who is later convicted in terms of Article 79 by reason of facts committed within five years of acquiring French nationality, retroactively loses French nationality." This is probably the clause that will cause the biggest uproar.

Mazeaud considers he is "moved by the same philosophy as the government" and does not rule out the possibility of his draft serving as the basis for amending the nationality code. This remains to

be seen. Government experts who have gone through the dossier have noticed that certain articles of the code cannot be touched without setting off a series of modifications and threatening to upset the balance of the legislation as a whole.

One clever shift has been proposed for modifying Article 23 (which grants French nationality at birth) without really touching it. Does not this article also help a child who has a parent who was born in a former French overseas possession? By doing away with this detail, only 3,000 to 4,000 Africans a year would be penalised gradually — but it would not prevent Algerians born in France after their country became independent from acquiring French nationality automatically.

What will Chirac decide to do? A reform limited to the nationality code, presented as a way of helping the integration of foreigners and forming part of the overall immigration policy, would have gone through fairly easily. But coming on the heels of the "Pasqua bill", it is likely to look like another form of discrimination. The Prime Minister will need a great deal of skill to be able to avoid touching off a new campaign of protests while at the same time satisfying his majority's most hardline members.

(July 2)

THREE drama schools — Les Amandiers at Nanterre near Paris, the drama department of the university of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and the American Musical and Dramatic Academy (AMDA) — recently organised an exchange of their respective students.

For six weeks, 22 Americans worked at Les Amandiers (see below), while 18 French students of Pierre Romans, head of that school, trod the boards on the Californian campus or on Broadway.

The scheme, financed by the French Association for Artistic Action (AFAA), had already been tried out in 1984, with an exchange between Les Amandiers and the O'Neill Theatre Center in Waterford, Connecticut.

The current programme ended on June 20 with a private performance by all those involved.

The feeling among French students is that their six weeks in the United States were "positive but surprising". What did they best remember about their stay? A constant urging to "be positive"; dist-sodas and pizzas at dawn; giant toasters and some very fat, if contented people; battered old Chevrolets; fits of rage thrown by teachers of singing, movement, drama and musical comedy.

The students were split into two groups, with eight going to AMDA and ten to UCLA. So while some acquainted themselves with the dinky town of Westwood and the methods of the Actors' Studio, the rest found themselves caught up in the razzmatazz of "cocaine city", knocking down to intensive singing lessons and nine hours a week of modern jazz and tap dancing, as well as improvisation classes.

Although they encountered different working methods all the French students returned from the US with the feeling they had met what the Americans call "professionalism" — the art of controlling one's body and temper, humility, a tremendous will to practise hard, and an obsession with the public.

In a studio high above Broadway, Harry, who is in such perfect trim it is hard to believe he is 60, takes his students through a *bourrée* step: "You're not in a night club here. You haven't paid to get in." He smiles and points into a mirror: "It is they who have paid to come and see you."

Delia Salvi, teacher of acting at UCLA, trying to teach a class, is always ready to pounce on anyone she hears whispering. She says she is shocked by the French students' lack of discipline.

When the storm has blown over, one of her students confides: "You have to let yourself go whatever

A group of French drama students have been to the United States to try out the act methods which have produced many stage and film stars. In exchange, some American apprentice actors have been visiting France and getting a taste of the dictatorial methods used by French directors. The result has proved both positive and unexpected.

French actors get UCLA culture shock

By Laurence Benaim

happens. You're not allowed to slip away or hide behind the actor's persona. Here they want you to be seen taking risks. That's the positive side of the American method."

It is easy to imagine what it was like for the 18 young students when they arrived in the States: supporting the look that is now *de rigueur* in France — untidy hair, romantic rings under eyes, a wan complexion — they suddenly found themselves plunged into an atmosphere of artificial good humour and non-stop fun. That sort of experience is quite a wrench for an "intellectual".

The first sessions at UCLA were stormy. It is hard to act like an obedient teenager when you are used, as one student said, to "behaving like an actor in a theatre company."

Pierre Romans at Nanterre: does

essay a week on a set play (there are 30 in all).

Courses cost \$430 a term for Californian residents and \$1,700 for anyone else. No expense is spared to stage the department's productions — last year, the costumes for "Hamlet" cost \$6,000.

Students work hard to get their degree. It is not unusual to find the Shakespearean actor one had seen on stage the previous evening sitting behind a cafeteria cash-desk the following morning.

It was all a bit of a culture shock for the French students. Although they managed to get out of classes in dramatic theory, they were put through the basic training. This involved daily warm-up sessions where they had to wag their chins, emit primal screams and let themselves go in every conceivable way. "At first," says Vincent Perez, one

group psychotherapy? Not our life!" Gradually their misgives melted away under the glow of novelty and excitement.

Seen from the stalls, the whole thing looked like a play with a play. The actors would wince, stretch their limbs, whisper, put insults at the shadows. But the end of the day they had been softened up and were ready to act — "not tête-à-tête but belly-to-belly" as they put it.

The methods used in AMI are similar: "You're a cowboy. Imagine that John Wayne is big as

you." At times it looked and felt a bit like a school playground. But the students had already been taught the basic lesson that a movement is no good if you are afraid of making it, that you have to forget the mirror to convince yourself.

The Texan star Cherie Bernet, a large pink apparition with platinum locks of hair tumbling over her forehead, thought her French students were "terrific". As she watched them tucking into their *chili con carne*, she opined that they could well have a professional acting future ahead of them. But, she added, "six weeks is too short."

Bernet pointed out that at AMDA 80 per cent of candidates are eliminated at the start, and another 50 per cent told they need not come back after one year. As at UCLA, courses have to be paid for — in this case \$6,000 a year.

One cannot help feeling that the French students, whose board and lodging was paid for, had been sucked into the "Bob Fosse system" — by the dint of fierce practice sessions, and of singing, by learning the lyrics phonetically. Perhaps that is what they meant when they said the result of their trip was "positive".

"The Freud students sometimes had difficulty in familiarising themselves with Stanislavsky's celebrated Method... 'What? Are we expected to take part in group psychotherapy? Not on your life'..."

not give his students marks, he simply directs them. Aspiring students are put through a rigorous selection process: first they have to send in a photo, then they are subjected to an audition. Of 2,000 who apply, only 20 are accepted.

Romans does not expect his students to be able to draw an exponential curve. At UCLA, on the other hand, as in all American universities with a fine arts department, the teaching process takes place just as much in the lecture halls as on stage.

After two years of compulsory general training, students spend another two years of learning about scriptwriting, costumes and set construction. Those who take the history of the theatre as part of their syllabus have to turn in one

of the students, "one is afraid of giving oneself away, as one moves badly".

There was no real language problem, though chairman John Cauble called in an interpreter. Certain instructions hardly needed to be translated, such as "Relax" or "Feel your body".

But the French students, too stiff and too tense, sometimes had difficulty in familiarising themselves with Konstantin Stanislavsky's celebrated Method, which involves associating a scene with a lived experience and building up a role by rummaging in one's emotional past. They were given a quarter of an hour to work their way into an emotion.

At first they protested: "What? Are we expected to take part in

'Talk, talk, talk. And when do they sleep?'

"WHEN do they ever sleep over here?" said Kelly Gubler, a Californian who spent six weeks in France as part of the drama student exchange scheme. In all her time in Paris she managed to see only the Eiffel Tower. The French, in her view, are bleary eyed, not very fond of drinking milk, and much given to endless discussion.

The first thing that surprised the 22 American students (13 from UCLA and nine from AMDA) when they came to France were the way people would sit down and dissect the characters of the play, and the very precise instructions given by the director.

The plays they worked on included Molière's "L'Impromptu de Versailles", Ivan Turgenev's "A Month in the Country", and Jean-Paul Sartre's "Les Séquestrés d'Altona", "one of the best introductions to French theatre", according to John Berry, who shared the task of directing the students with Pierre Romans.

They had never got so close to the text before, but had simply played

out a scene or two in front of their teacher. According to one of the students, "in the States, the third eye doesn't exist." He was referring to the director, that constantly mobile, voyeur who follows the actors' every step and indicates pauses with his hands.

"When Pierre Romans looks at us," John Lynch, an AMDA student explains, "you think he is painting a picture. What a difference! In the States, our teachers only give us guidance when we ourselves have made a suggestion." The American students' second surprise was the way the French use space. "When they arrived here they had no idea how to move," says Romans with some vehemence. Fred Astaire's very own grandsons were apparently as stilted in their movements as robots: "They just made their exits and entrances, but never opened up."

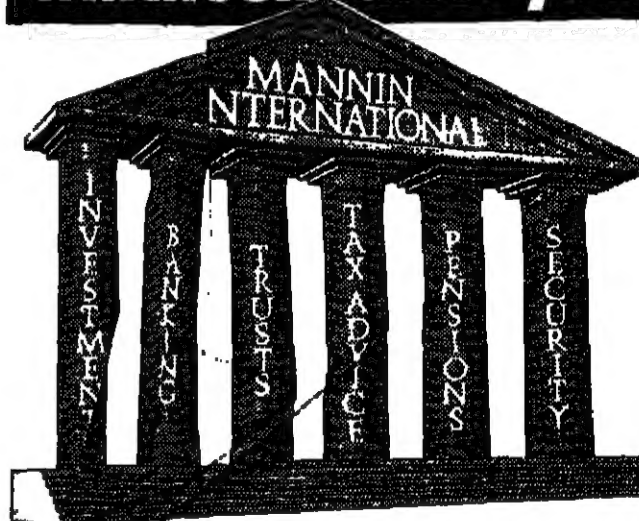
Could it be that the "total" actor is less expressive than his or her Cartesian counterpart? If so, yet another myth has been exploded.

Lawrence Hilly, a Californian living in New York, who dances and plays baseball and basketball, says he learned what "freedom of body" means: "The French are more choreographical, they're not scared of making big gestures." The deepest impression left on him was by two plays he saw in Paris, "Quoi Qu'en Pense" directed Patrice Chéreau, and Antoine Vitez's production of *Le Jeu de Chaillos*.

It was by watching the actress playing Electra, Evelyne Istaiti, that he understood what the play was about. "Her slightest movement was for me a piece of art. It had a kind of production, wasn't it? It was regarded as too realistic. People hold themselves back on Broadway — perhaps because that's what audiences want, they've been perverted by TV soapies. Here in France, at least theatre has retained a touch of madness."

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The Wan Post

Worst Of Worlds

IN RESPECT to the World Coc that the United States is violating international law in NReagan administration has tried to have it both ways. To defend itself against Nicaragua's charges, but now it court's decision. First the administration looked as if it fessce was weak, and now it sounds like a poor loser. This is ormanse all around.

The World Coc is not a comse that it interprets and enforeca a hody of law that conty of sovereign states. But, aside from the narrow range of ctes agree to submit to it, it is a custodian of something nrtional law" that is a recognised and useful standard lations want their policy to measure up to. Americans fourt valuable in the Iranian hostage crisis. Only when Manag to condemn U.S. policy did the Reagan administration startit with its members and ways. The court did make a shan, by taking up a complaint involving an armed conflict. An confident administration, however, would have realised thntod forum in which to reply.

Why did the Reagan administ the chance? The obvious defense was that the United States testing Nicaraguan guerrillas, is engaged in collective self-defense, government that supports Salvadoran guerrillas. But here thration has hamstrung itself by fallure to make public the ctes showing a continuing Nicaraguan role in El Salvador.

Common sense suggests that thivudran insurgency is not supported by mirora, any more thaaruguan insurgency is. The secret intelligence has demonstratrugua's role even to many congressional critics of Reagan polificals, intent on protecting intelligence sources, have prevailthose pleading to disclose Managua's hand. It has always been a political mistake.

But that may not be the whole of its reason to suspect that the administration's aim is not merely to leave its neighbors alone but to remove it wer. No government could acknowledge such a goal to the Worl

That leaves the Reagan administ the worst of two worlds. It stands condemned for violating inbal law, and the policy for which it is condemned seems u to produce its intended requirements of overthrowing the jists, short of direct U.S. intervention that the president insists out.

OPEC Isn't Finished

OPEC is a classic cartel, and classic cates usually short-lived. One reason for this was visible in the collapOPEC's latest attempt to get a lock on its market. Meeting at Brkugolavina's sumptuous and to strong immediately to raise the price. OPEC's members were able cut back production, and no country waiting tcut enough to make a ministers unthier retinues departed theiryhts and private jets. Urgance of the oit.

Does it mean the price of oil will remain low or white? Apparently, yes. But careful.

As always, a great deal depends on Saudi Arabia. For several years the Saudis have been selling steady lower amounts of oil in an effort to maintain a high price in a world in which demand is falling and other countries were producing more. Some OPEC's memk were cheating by producing more than their quotas. Last year the Saudis decided that they were following the wrong strategy. They began raising their production, deliberately pushing down price. The price clearly was to force some of the high-cost producers out of the market and punish the OPEC cheaters, while dissuading the industrial nations from diminishing their dependence on oil. Saudi production fell from 2.3 million barrels a day to 4.7 million in December. The price went from \$27 a barrel in December to \$12 currently. Supply and demand works.

What OPEC's other members think about it is secondary. EC's new competitors — Mexico, Britain, China — are all now producing more oil than any OPEC member itself. The Saudis have evidently decy that in these circumstances the cartel's international quarrels are intubable, at least for the present.

With their vast reserves, by far the largest in the world, the Saudis can afford to play a long game. As other countries deplete their reser, an increasing proportion of what is left will lie under the Saudi desm.

The industrial countries have to be very careful to discourage reward decline in the next decade and prices will respond. More than ever, Sudi Arabia will be in a position to decide when, and how much. When prices begin rising, it will be much easier to enforce discipline in the cartel. The Brioni meeting was an acknowledgment that OPEC is out of business for now — not necessarily forever.

Finding Mercenaries

Continued from page 16

selected past uses of foreign troops, among them mercenaries of the 18th and 19th centuries, British Gurkhas and the French Foreign Legion. Then Cuba: The Soviet-Cuban relationship seems to be the best model for defining Cooperative Forces. Clearly there are some differences between this relationship and one including a democracy. However, the basic premise of mutual benefit still holds. The aid, the Soviets gain now, friendly governments.

Now, it's only a paper, but it's a paper that has friendly Pentagon patronage. No doubt it would be convenient to have available the likes of the Cubans, East Germans and others who do Moscow's Third World bidding. But Washington does not have allies, or treat allies, like that. Does it? The ties that bind peoples who are free or, at least, aspiring to be free, cannot rest on the hegemony the Kremlin thrusts upon its clients. An American policy that looks finally to the Cuban or even to the Russian mercenary model is a policy going off the deep end.

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Patriotism And Its Symbols

By Ralph Nader

Special to The Washington Post

AROUND the dinner table in the New England town where I grew up, our parents would observe at just the proper time in our political discussions that loving our country meant working hard to make it more lovable. The flag, they would add, could take care of itself.

This advice did not keep their children from rushing down to the annual July Fourth parade on Main Street or arguing over the desirability of America the Beautiful versus the Star Spangled Banner as our national anthem. Commemoration of the nation's Independence Day was fun, and it made us feel good.

It wasn't long before my mother and father found an opportunity to restate their message. They did not adopt the defensive patriotism of many immigrants who were sensitive lest their foreign accents and customs seem to cast doubt on their love of the U.S.A.

"When I sailed past the Statue of Liberty in 1912," my father once said to us, "I took it seriously." He and my mother would to exercise

"Early elementary-school teachers have told me that when they raise a picture of President Washington in class for identification, their pupils reply: 'He's the car salesman.' 'He sells stereos.'"

— not message — their new freedoms on behalf of greater justice and a better democracy. They were all too alert to the fate of nations and peoples who wallow in collective praise at the expense of exercising their rights against the abuses of power and the blockage of opportunity.

The 1940s were easy for patriotism. Against the backdrop of World War II, who wasn't a patriot? The '50s were the Eisenhower years, when patriotic feeling elected a wartime commander who, unlike men in that office who never served in the military, rarely flaunted their patriotism. The '60s were a reaction to the cynicism and conformity of the prior 15 years. The challengers accused the self-styled super-patriots of using the flag as a bandana or tie flag to hide shame, injustice and aggression, particularly against minorities at home and the Vietnamese abroad.

For different reasons, Nixon's Watergate and Jimmy Carter's delayed the inevitable backlash and return to patriotism — until the fallout from the Iranian hostage crisis spilled over into the wailing lands of Ronald Reagan.

In the '80s, patriotism and its symbols increasingly have become media extravaganzas for commercial and political exploitation. Such shows and speeches, disseminated as they are from contemporary deeds and national missions, have become refuges for holders of power who seek to define and control the nation's patriotic sentiments.

The profitable hoopla surrounding the Statue of Liberty is more than show business. Organizing millions of school children to collect quarters and dollars to refurbish the statue was done in a style akin to the monument idolatry of far less democratic regimes abroad. How many of these children learned anything about civil liberties and civil rights in our country during this drive? The promoters were not sympathetic to such linkage.

The challenge is to find activities in our own daily lives that give meaning to our patriotic slogans, and that allow us to define our love for our country through civic achievement. Patriotism is a powerful idea, and one that should be defined by citizens, not by their rulers. For me, the meaning of patriotism lies in working to make America more lovable.

The corporatization of our nation's patriotic symbols did not

among the younger generations who grew up in a television age. When was the last time a Lincoln or Washington's Birthday was an occasion for celebrating what these men and their times accomplished?

Our national political leaders, much like the corporations, view the sentiments and symbols of the patria as grist in the selling of themselves during and between elections.

Consider Ronald Reagan, an artful master of patriotic ceremonies and rhetoric. Hardly missing an occasion, whether in a sports arena or on a former battlefield, he tells us how much he loves America. With a disarming flattery that only a former actor could perfect, he performs his "Miller Time" politics. But shouldn't his oratorical fervor be measured by actual behavior and accomplishments? Or, as semanticists have warned themselves become the deodor?

To me, loving America means mean energetic efforts to apply existing laws to advance the cleanliness and safety of the water, the air, the soil and the food supply. Loving America should mean maintaining its public investment in highways, soil-erosion control, forests and estuaries. Loving America is furthering the public trust of its public lands, its public airways and its public election processes. Loving America is avoiding economic policies that have pushed our country into the No. 1 debtor nation in the world, the biggest trade and budget deficits.

Unless citizens can turn a national mission for clean drinking water into a patriotic endeavor, Reagan is not likely to become enthusiastic. So latent is his sense of patriotism regarding drinking water cleanup that it is likely to be proven conclusively that the cause of America's contaminated drinking water is an international communist conspiracy.

A patriotism that has been narrowed for use by government and corporations asks only for servile nods or a burst of applause from its subjects. A new and broader patriotism requires a thinking assent from its citizens. In today's era of proliferating atomic weapons, if patriotism is to have any "manifest destiny," it is in building a world where all humankind is our bond in peace.

But what about his greatest patriotic pride — the re-arming of America? True, we are in an even greater state of mutually assured

destruction capability. There are plans for more and bigger missiles. There is also more fraud, abuse, waste and corruption inherent in a vastly larger military budget. There is also an appallingly weak conventional military capability.

But how difficult it is to question these national problems when the media and the public are daunted by a president waving a huge American flag against the Evil Empire. Manipulative patriotism is a feedstock for Reagan, which allows him to rise above accountability for his own policies.

There are good reasons to reject phony commercial and political expressions of patriotism. The former debases a great asset for any organized society. The latter misuses that asset as a mechanism of submission and control — or, as recent history of other countries has demonstrated, as a method for collective madness and destruction.

The patriotic dazzle surrounding controversial issues also can short-circuit deliberate thinking and the

protection of dissent. To be sure, there will always be struggles over the symbols of patriotism. But we should strive nonetheless, to discern a kind of patriotism that is not an abstraction steeped in nostalgia, but a real, living monument that can be judged by the standard of "liberty and justice for all."

Finally, if "consent of the governed" is to have any meaning, the abstract ideal of country has to be separated from those who rule it; otherwise the corporate and political governments cannot be evaluated by citizens. And it is the citizenry who must provide the nourishment for a meaningful patriotism that is open to all people to perfect in their neighborhoods, communities, states and nation.

Let one example illustrate this point: Much of our drinking water is contaminated with heavy metals, organic chemicals and other carriers of silent violence to the health of millions of people. Since 1974, a Safe Drinking Water Act has been available to presidents for making that water safer.

In five and a half years, despite a duty and knowledge to act, President Reagan has not issued a single contaminant-control standard under that law. By a bipartisan vote of 94 to 0, the Senate recently sent him legislation with deadlines for issuing some major regulations dealing with drinking-water hazards. He signed the bill with reluctance.

Our government, our business circles, our hundreds of thousands of aspiring Korean immigrants and above all our military would believe the same today. But all four main U.S. Information Centers have been torched or invaded or both since 1980, and from among 75,000 students in 300 demonstrations this year come anti-American banners and slogans — and sharply mounting violence.

These student voices are those of a minority, but no longer the tiny minority they were two years ago. A violent anti-Americanism has swelled and continues to gain ground even beyond the campuses. If the escalation of the last two years persists for two more, the present regime and, the 1988 Olympic Games, planned in Seoul, will be shaken not by the forces of the North but by those of the South. The American relationship with Seoul will suffer accordingly.

This unrest arises from diverse sources: small but rising corruption, threats of American congressional restraints on Korea's hefty trade inroads and possible (though characteristically exaggerated) communist influence. But it is the political perception of the nature of the U.S. military command over most Korean armed forces that most fires student anger.

As commander in chief of the Joint U.S.-South Korean Command, a four-star American general must give permission whenever a normal Korean combat unit is moved. Coups, which always involve such shifts, either defy the command structure, as in 1961 and 1979, or, when U.S. permission is sought and given, involve American command consent in the bloody suppression of forces seeking democracy, as in 1980 in Kwangju. Even when, as in October 1972, the use of troops to enforce authoritarian constitutional changes was too minor to involve command permission, suspicion of an implied command assent remains.

American command (however qualified) over South Korean armed forces that are deeply implicated in internal Korean politics tarnishes the American name. Attempts to formalize that position only increase the dangers of "commanding" without control. Many Korean students thus perceive the United States as the midwife of the

Remembering Entebbe — Fortune Favors The Brave

TEN YEARS ago, Lt. Col. Joshua Shani peered into the overcast African night from the cockpit of his C-130 Hercules and saw, lined up before him, the runway lights of Entebbe International Airport.

"It was quite an easy landing," says Shani, now a full colonel and the air attaché at the Israeli Embassy in Washington. "I didn't use any landing lights: it was a dark landing, which isn't a big deal. We didn't want anyone to see us."

The plane landed unnoticed, and what followed has become legend. Israel, acting boldly and alone on July 3 and 4, 1976, sent an airborne force of special commandos 2,300 miles across often hostile terrain to rescue 105 hostages held by pro-Palestinian terrorists.

The strike was quickly conceived and executed, it was "surgical," and it worked.

Within minutes after the first plane touched down, seven of the terrorists were dead along with 20 to 40 Ugandan troops, and the hostages, who had been hijacked aboard an Air France flight to Paris, were freed. Three hostages died.

"This operation," then-Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said at the time, "will be the subject of research, of poetry and legend." In Jerusalem last week, at a gathering of some of the former hostages and their rescuers, Israeli President Chaim Herzog described the raid as "Israel's shining hour... an operation that electrified the world's imagination."

Israel's action was widely applauded, but American presidents who sought to emulate it were less successful and less warmly praised. Jimmy Carter's raid on Iran ended in disaster at Desert One, and Ronald Reagan's bombing of Libya brought no cooperation from the French and criticism from many quarters. International terrorism, for Americans and others, remains a nearly intractable problem, and there may never be a success to equal Israel's daring achievement a decade ago.

Shani was a 30-year-old squadron commander when he piloted the lead plane into Entebbe. Aboard his plane was Gen. Dan Shomron, the commander of the

raid, and Lt. Col. Jonathan Netanyahu, head of the assault party that freed the hostages and the only Israeli military fatality.

What follows is Shani's version of events, which differs in some respects from other versions, the instant books and the TV movie. A tall, tanned, athletic man who speaks clear but strongly accented English, he tells the story in his embassy office.

As he talks, he smokes Marlboros from a hard pack. On desks and tables around the office are scale models of warplanes and helicopters. On the walls are pictures of planes, and the picture of a black Mercedes. The Mercedes played a crucial role in the raid and was aboard Shani's plane, along with two Land Rovers.

The hostages were being held in an old terminal building at Entebbe, south of the Ugandan capital of Kampala in central Africa. They had been hijacked on June 27 aboard an Air France flight from Tel Aviv to Paris via Athens. There were 246 passengers plus crew to begin; by July 4, the day of the raid, only 105 hostages remained after most of the non-Jews were released. The process used to separate Jews from non-Jews was chillingly reminiscent of "selections" in the death camps of Nazi Germany.

The terrorists — perhaps 10 in all — stood guard over the hostages inside the building, which was guarded outside by Ugandan troops. Ugandan President Idi Amin was all but openly cooperating with the terrorists, although when he visited the hostages and spoke to them he pretended to be neutral.

Israeli intelligence learned that on these visits Amin arrived in a black Mercedes flanked by two Land Rovers. Israel was making diplomatic efforts to solve the crisis. At the same time, preparations were going forward for a possible military rescue operation. The first military plan, Shani says, was to drop paratroopers in Lake Victoria, the source of the Nile, on which Entebbe is located. The idea was for the troopers to row ashore in rubber boats and attack.

Somebody got the idea that if they drove up to the terminal in a black Mercedes flanked by Land Rovers, the Ugandan troops outside the terminal would think it was Amin and hold their fire. "And we needed just a few seconds of hesitation to let our people penetrate the terminal."

The Israeli planners began hunting for a black Mercedes. "We tried Hertz and Avis. They didn't have one in Tel Aviv." Finally a car was found at a small Mercedes dealer, but it was white. Israeli troops quickly got a can of black paint and painted it. "A very lousy job," but, when the moment came, it fooled the Ugandans as planned.

Shani led the flight of four C-130s. The last plane was nearly empty so there would be room for the hostages. They left Sharm el Sheikh on the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula at about 4:30pm, Israel time, on July 3. They went down the Red Sea between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, flying low to dodge radar in these countries and about Soviet ships.

How low?

Shani pauses, thinks "Let's call it very, very low," he says with a smile. "Just very, very low." Flying low is tiring and uses a lot of fuel, so when they turned north over Ethiopia they increased altitude. Over Lake Victoria they

A key reason for abandoning the plan was technical. The C-130s would need spare fuel for the 16-hour round trip, making it impossible to safely nose up high enough to drop cargo into the lake. "Also, we didn't like to jump into water," says Shani, "because that place is full of crocodiles, and crocodiles are more frightening to us than terrorists."

Suddenly, the time pressure was intense. The terrorists were demanding the release of other Western European nations, and it appeared they might soon begin killing the hostages at Entebbe.

"We had 24 hours to plan, rehearse and execute" an operation, says Shani. "In 24 hours the only way to do it is very simply. Why jump if you can land on the main runway?"

He taxied to within 1,000 yards of the old terminal building. The Mercedes, carrying nine commandos including Netanyahu, and the Land Rovers rolled out the back ramp and sprinted toward the terminal.

The Ugandans held their fire. The commandos "approached the terminal and stormed the building and then they shouted inside in Hebrew and English, 'Everyone lie on the floor!' Everyone did so except the terrorists, of course, and in a very short cross-fire the terrorists were dead."

The other planes had landed, disgorging troops who secured the area, began administering medical care to the wounded and got the hostages aboard a plane.

Then they flew back home, arriving in Israel about 9:45 in the morning on July 4. "Oh, the country was like a madhouse at this time," says Shani. "You could see the snowball of joy getting bigger and bigger."

It was the high point of his military career. "Military missions, it's always a destructive job. To do a military operation to save people, that gives you a real good feeling."

So what was the secret of success? Shani takes a drag on his Marlboro. Simplicity, he says. And luck. And, "It took a lot of chutzpah. You know the meaning of the Jewish word chutzpah?"

[Chutzpah — effrontery, shameless audacity, impudence, "cheek"]

Why Koreans Turn Against The U.S.

Gregory Henderson

FOR 30 years, from the June 25, 1950, outbreak of the Korean War until the late May 1980 Kwangju uprising in southwest Korea, anti-Americanism was about as common in South Korea as fish in a tank. We were more than a friend to Seoul, we were THE friend. The world knew no more enthusiastic allies.

Our government, our business circles, our hundreds of thousands of aspiring Korean immigrants and above all our military would believe the same today. But all four main U.S. Information Centers have been torched or invaded or both since 1980, and from among 75,000 students in 300 demonstrations this year come anti-American banners and slogans — and sharply mounting violence.

These student voices are those of a minority, but no longer the tiny minority they were two years ago. A violent anti-Americanism has swelled and continues to gain ground even beyond the campuses. If the escalation of the last two years persists for two more, the present regime and, the 1988 Olympic Games, planned in Seoul, will be shaken not by the forces of the North but by those of the South. The American relationship with Seoul will suffer accordingly.

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As commander in chief of the Joint U.S.-South Korean Command, a four-star American general must give permission whenever a normal Korean combat unit is moved. Coups, which always involve such shifts, either defy the command structure, as in 1961 and 1979, or, when U.S. permission is sought and given, involve American command consent in the bloody suppression of forces seeking democracy, as in 1980 in Kwangju. Even when, as in October 1972, the use of troops to enforce authoritarian constitutional changes was too minor to involve command permission, suspicion of an implied command assent remains.

American command (however qualified) over South Korean armed forces that are deeply implicated in internal Korean politics tarnishes the American name. Attempts to formalize that position only increase the dangers of "commanding" without control. Many Korean students thus perceive the United States as the midwife of the

Chun regime's 1979-80 takeover of power and as the continued backer of this "puppet" of the "imperialism." To us as well as to Chun is increasingly ascribed a quarter of a century of repression of democracy within a highly educated nation aspiring to greater freedom.

As anti-militarist sentiment rises, moreover, the annual joint U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit Exercises" become seen as "the training of military hoodlums" or, more soberly but more dangerously, as the chief roadblock in North-South Korean unification talks.

Both sides have recently further inflamed the situation. The Korean government has used military induction or training as punishment for "unruly" students. Secretary of State George Shultz's public support of the Chun regime during his early May visit to Seoul was not only almost unqualified but was accompanied by criticism of "an opposition which seeks to incite violence" a stance he strengthened by relegating the two chief opposition leaders to a meeting with a subordinate, which was then aborted.

Korean student perceptions do not yet typify Korea's public views. These perceptions distort reality: the United States did not welcome or seek to forward Korean coups. Yet American "quiet diplomacy" toward democratization, drowned in

an increasingly radical and vocal student perception of the unpopular Chun regime as an American puppet. Our Seoul embassy's communication with the student world has reportedly lost all effectiveness.

No one can be sure that Korea will boil over. A booming economy and stock market bespeak confidence. But it is increasingly clear that the present U.S. command structure in Korea is an unwise and possibly unmanageable political liability. Designed to integrate an international war effort and leash the quixotic tendencies of the late President Syngman Rhee, it is now archaic.

It behooves us to limit our forces and command to sophisticated weaponry and air support and to leave all ground troops and their command to the manpower-rich and well-trained Koreans. We should support more openly the lifting of the innumerable legal restraints now enjoining democratic elections in Korea. We should withdraw from an unneeded command position that gives at least the appearance of interference in the Korean political process on the repressive, undemocratic side.

The writer served as a State Department specialist in Korea for more than seven years.

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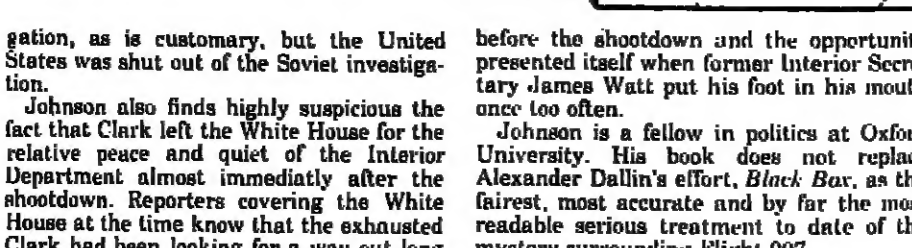
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By Douglas B. Feaver

Johnson asserts that the National Transportation Safety Board was ordered off the scene by the State Department. I know from my own reporting at the time of the accident and from rechecking since that that is indeed so. Under an international treaty to which the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and Korea are all signatories, responsibility for the investigation rested with either the Soviets or Koreans, not the safety board, depending on whether the wreckage came down in Soviet or international waters. Sixty board representatives participated as observers in the Korean investi-



By Ralph Whitlock

Meaning I had never experienced before and I didn't want to encounter again. With my wife still, somewhat incapacitated by her traumatic illness of two years, I was pressed to attend her on these shopping expeditions as chauffeur, guide-dog and beast of burden.

I rather enjoy indulging myself extravagantly at the food shelves, but in the departments which sell

At the very hint of a new one coming their way, all the town traders unite in a protest campaign. They argue; rightly, that if the plans are carried out, they stand to lose customers. And I suppose them right. They should work after their customers better, with the help of offering them a few chairs.

At the very hint of a new one coming their way, all the town traders unite in a protest campaign. They argue; rightly, that if the plans come to fruition they stand to lose customers. And serve them right. They should look after their customers better, while they still have them. Even to the extent of offering them a few chairs.

mini-god with the power of crea-
tion in his hands. Having created
things go in search of that vague and
gassy energy which preceded the

The Venice Biennale until Sep-
tember 28.

Kokoschka denied justice

"Times seem perfect of a
reassessment of Kokoschka's cre-
ation," but your billiard ball
manuscript is clearly not the writ-
er to make it (June 22).

to conclude that Kokoschka pro-
duced "many interesting paintings
but no masterpieces."

"No masterpieces?" Not the Tate
Polperro (1845), the Great Thales

dirt and disease") is "amply ex-
posed and refuted by the glowing paint-
ings of Lottie Frauzons, August
Fakel and the Tietzes, in the

Los Angeles, California

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Fidelio beamed

THIS is Colin Davis signing off as Covent Garden's MD. And how! His new Fidelio, the last production Davis is launching in 15 disappointing years, is a catastrophe. Andrei Serban's staging, which I found peaseable, though frenetic and overloaded in the first act, took a nose dive during the interval, culminating in a farcical Göttergötter-like charade for the last scene that provoked boos of derision when a black-winged Beelzebub on stilts enclosed the guilty Pizarro in its wings. This certainly was the funniest Fidelio I've seen.

Unfortunately, Davis opted to meet the incompetent and futile sequence of tableaux from which Serban constructed the second-act staging by allowing what was already a sombre, stolid, very tautonic but persuasive interpretation to snail's pace, playing for seriousness. And he insisted — in mistak-

Tom Sutcliffe at Covent Garden

ed deference to Beethoven's musical genius, and disregarding the composer's careful dramatic revisions — on inserting the Leonore III overture in the middle of the second act, giving Serban the opportunity for the lamest, most futile, and repetitive mime of the story in front of the giant cut-out of Beethoven's death mask. (In fact Davis conducted this misplaced overture very beautifully, almost serenely, despite what was happening on stage, and the orchestra played it superbly.)

Otherwise, the second act plodded on its weary way at a pace that allowed the chorus not only time to breathe in their joyous terminal peans — something Beethoven scarcely considered necessary — but time to giggle at the farago in which they were involved.

The tragedy is that in choosing Fidelio for his farewell, Davis was opting for a work he loved, and — as an interpreter — well also. The first act was lovingly conducted, every detail of orchestration drawn out like a treasure, and the orchestra (whose quality Davis has during his tenure maintained and improved) responded strongly.

Davis's pace was, I think, a good deal more deliberate than the last revival he conducted here of the work. If anybody doubted his credentials they would surely have marvelled at his management of the duet between Rocco and Pizarro, perfectly structured by Davis, its dramatic intention ideally realised.

But at the dramatic heart of the work, the great ritual of Leonore's self-sacrificial gesture seemed beyond Davis's power to rescue, becalmed by the sheer incompetence and tedium of Serban's staging.

On paper this looked an encour-

aging and congratulations are those performers (like Laetitia as Jaquino, Marie McLane as Marzelline, and Gwyneth Jones as Rocco) who tried to bring musical vitality in jangling with nervous jangling of the domestic scene's realism.

Serban, an impression of Jaquino's determination, chasing Jaquino with more sympathy than usual. But I was a diversionary extra of means for the perfect to contend with, flown in, an angel of hope, cages full of most prisoners.

Joke Jaquino finding his door jammed in the square grey brick frame as unpretentious relief as prepared to tolerate the optimistic use of bald wigs and clids with the prisoners, thoughtfully and phony, as an acerbic exploitation of mod-

ern Cin stage clichés. But it was elements that swamped the neo-domestic vision which Serban had.

The excellent work done from Faust Walker, as Pizarro, foreboding his hands from a little bottle in his breast pocket, like a king, though he is a bit lily on the bottom notes. James as Florestan, though a veteran, sounded impressive enough, not very heroic. Of all the chiters he was the most disturbing the disastrous staging since 1964 features in the appalling ignominious second act.

The vocal problem with the show is the casting of Elizabeth Connell as Leonore. Though she has good looks and some lovely tone, Miss Connell tends to sound like a girl as if pushing her voice through a pipe. And she lacks body in her voice, especially at the bottom where she is inclined to a kind of speech singing. Really this is a very long way from the devastating performance that the part requires.

Multiple musical joy, and a staging the descending inanity, with visual references cancelling each other out in different directions. It was as if she had lost his way completely, and in total panic was trying every trick he knew, and singing in undigested every possibility about the politics of the act, about the spiritual naivety of Thompson (which some people find echoes Blake), and about men during a half-forgotten war. What a waste of Jean Sainsbury's money. Scrap the show.

CLAUDE MILLER, the French director, has never really sustained the promise of his first two features — *The Best Way To Walk* and *This Sweet Sickness*, both of which were shown here. He has, in fact, only made three other films in a decade. But fortunately the fifth is *An Impudent Girl* which has proved both a commercial and critical success.

The film is an odd mixture, looking at times like a fairly crass French pot-boiler, what with its absurd picture frame ending and the slumpy theme tune. But often it gets to grips quite charmingly with its main theme of tribulations of adolescence. The best of it is so good that the dross comes as a most unpleasant surprise.

The impudent girl is Charlotte, a 13-year-old who can't wait to grow up, suddenly finding her own little world insufficient. She hates her provincial life and visits her aunt in Paris, where she is surrounded by her long-suffering stepmother and Lulu, faithful but still childlike friend. When a young musical prodigy comes to town, she is riveted with admiration, even though the prodigy clearly needs a boot on the bum and isn't about to get it from the sycophants and hangers-on around her.

The child in Charlotte fantasises about becoming the musician's manager, latching on to the loneliness of the long-distance careerist. The adult in her discovers that it is only a fantasy which she has to step over to grow up and besides, true friends are those who stick by you.

The revelation of the film lies in its shrewd observation of provincial French family life and, most of

A devil in the heart

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

all, in the amazingly truthful performance of Charlotte Gainsbourg who took the part in her school holidays. Don't expect a Hollywood child, but a real one, with a devil on one shoulder and an angel on the other, like most recalcitrant pubescents.

The film has been compared to a Carson MacCullers story and it certainly has the same edge and irony that MacCullers sought and usually found.

Excellent performances too from Bernadette Lafont as the stepmother, and Julie Glenn who equals Gainsbourg as Lulu. The charm, by the way, is not of the ingratiating kind but seems to be born of real experience. What a pity Miller has been persuaded to gild the film here and there. The film simply does not need it.

If you watch Kim Basinger's performance in *Fool For Love* you will not recognise the edge performance of Adrian Lyne's 9½ Weeks. She is a whole class better for Robert Altman, who asks her to expose not her body but her talent in his imaginative if uneven adaptation of Sam Shepard's play.

She has Shepard himself opposite her rather than Mickey Rourke, which is in itself an improvement. But it is essentially a matter of a director instinctively knowing how far he can go with an actress, and then using her talent to the full in a series of tightly shot

and edited scenes. The acting, perhaps, is the best part of the otherwise slightly theatrical adaptation.

Once again, as he determined with Jimmy Dean, Streamers, and the extraordinary Nixon film, Secret Honour, Altman makes little attempt to open the play out, which is both an advantage and a disadvantage. It is an advantage because the piece has thus survived on its own merits, and a disadvantage because in this case it never quite does so, needing something extra on the screen which doesn't materialise.

The only real change is the introduction of Harry Dean Stanton's drunken father as a kind of Banquo's Ghost, almost commenting on the story as it goes along, and, because it is Stanton, with some style. This time round he is the link with everything as the lonely girl at the broken down gas station fights fate for the man she loves. Her lover is the same kind of existentialist loner we've seen before in pretentious American movies. But this time I don't find much to cavil about.

It is actually about simple people striving to contain themselves in a very complicated world where things are never quite what they seem, and Altman's straightforward approach emphasises that fact to some effect.

Even though far from perfect, *Fool For Love*, which also has a marvellous cameo from Randy Quaid as the outsider who steps into the relationship and gets stung, is about twice as gripping as your average American movie. And, for myself at least, a real pleasure.

Bubbles and peaks

TELEVISION by Nancy Banks-Smith

HAVE a glass of champagne and a slice of sponge cake, do.

In 1871 the rather aptly named Lucy Walker, an Englishwoman, was the first woman to climb the Matterhorn. She trained in a crinoline whose only obvious advantage is that if you fall you may float. By the time she climbed the Matterhorn the fashion was for petticoats, pantaloons, bustles and whalebone stays.

Mrs Walker, having failed to defeat her daughter, insisted she take some champagne and sponge cake up the mountain for altitude sickness, which makes it all the more remarkable that Lucy's grandmother, like many Victorian ladies, believed champagne was medicinal and kept a bottle for emergencies. I can't swear it made you better but it made you feel better.

A Dangerous Kind of Love (BBC 2), written by Fay Weldon and produced by Colin Goodson, had exactly this quality. Lightness, sparkle and lift. It was, for one thing, lovely to look at. The old

white rhino of a mountain frozen in ice, only its snowy horn showing and, as Lucy, Jenny Seagrove whose face lights up and shines as if she had stuck her toe in an electric socket.

The entertaining Walkers, happily based, I am sure, on the Bennets of *Pride and Prejudice*, were one of those rare families with whom you would happily spend a holiday, even allowing for the cook they employed out of kindness because no-one else would. Her Brown Windsor may have been primeval soup for it seemed to have things growing in it.

This is Lucy's Mr Bennet-like father: "It is a very bad notion to show a young man you are clever," and her Mr Collins-like fiancé: "She will bleed from every orifice. It is dreadful to envisage." My only complaint is that Lucy Walker, who may or may not have been beautiful and charming was certainly high-spirited and financially secure, would have turned down such a suitor down like a bedspread. It is a pity that Miss

Weldon gave him nothing between the ears but his nose ("Only yesterday one of my patients remarked she had never seen so straight a nose") for it reflects on Lucy's intelligence.

It is a bit of bad luck that this exhilarating feminine fizz, being one of three plays about climbers, should have gone out under the generic title Mountain Men.

There seems to be a rollicking bad taste and tarantula-boom-de-ay about Australia which defers all attempts to produce a bland soap opera. Like a quietly girl trying to move in the best circles, gusto keeps busting in.

Consider Dennis in *Return to Eden* (ITV), the son and heir of Stiff Harper, "the richest woman in the world." Dennis seems a bit on the short side so his trousers wrinkle around his ankles. His number plate is 4 PLAY and his underpants are purple. We know this because he is caught in flagrante with a fan dancer.

Dennis is a particular favourite of mine because (as with many men called Dennis oddly enough) people keep telling him to shut up. "Shut up, Dennis. . . . Dennis, will you shut up." When all else fails, they hit him with a handbag. He is lured without difficulty to a low dive and photographed, as Jake the villain puts it, "dancing with a feather duster." The richest woman in the world (who is the only woman to inspect a blast furnace wearing a fur coat) scythes down Jake with icy disdain: "It is obvious I am dealing with a sewer rat."

You would be watching *Return to Eden* for a while before the word sophisticated occurred to you. And before you realised your mouth was hanging open.

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged. We don't like cutting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page — short letters stand a better chance. Send them to: The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 18, Chesham, Cheshire SK5 1DD, England.

Pasternak rehabilitated

By Martin Walker in Moscow

BORIS PASTERNAK, who was expelled by the Soviet Writers' Union 30 years ago after the publication of *Dr Zhivago* in the West, is to be honoured with a museum and a literary commission which will seek to publish all his works.

The news was announced last week when nine of the Soviet Union's best known writers held a press conference to make this dramatic announcement and celebrate the shake up in Soviet letters that emerged in the course of the eighth congress of the Writers' Union.

They recounted how some of the more daring and controversial poets and writers who had been deemed unsuitable by the authorities to attend the congress even as delegates had been elected by acclamation to the union's controlling body.

They also defined the new limits of censorship, following the demise of Glavlit, the state's censorship board, after its 67-year reign. "Censorship exists in literature, designed to secure constitutional rights, to ban pornography, war propaganda, racialism and to protect military secrets," Vitaly Korotich, an essayist from the Ukraine and one of the newly elected secretaries of the union, explained.

"But the function of censorship stops there. It should not interfere in the literary process," he said. "And *Dr Zhivago* and the other works of Pasternak are hardly revolutionary and it is quite logical to publish them."

Yevgeny Yevtushenko, who campaigned hardest for the posthumous honouring of Pasternak, announced that the Writers' Union would henceforth "try to use our own power to defend books of our comrades and brothers against the bureaucracy."

He also announced that Bella Akhmadulina, Bulat Okudjava, and Yuri Chernichenko had been elected to the union's presidium. Akhmadulina had been a contributor to the banned magazine *Metropol* in 1979, and many of Okudjava's satirical ballads are

still to be heard only on underground tape recordings.

Valentin Rasputin, the Siberian novelist who had led the ecological campaign to close the factories which are polluting Lake Baikal, and had also campaigned against the project to reverse the flow of Siberian Rivers, put the new mood in the Writers' Union into the context of a wider and more fundamental social change.

"Five years ago it would have been dangerous to even suggest the idea of a popular referendum on the question of Lake Baikal," he said. "But today, such a plebiscite is a possibility and I believe a majority would vote to close the factories."

"The last 18 months has changed the social situation drastically," he said. "The Russian people have not always been active enough as citizens, but now there is growing civic activity on ecology on the whole. The press now supports us completely, which they did not three years ago."

The press conference was unusual in that it featured only writers, without the array of cultural bureaucrats who like to control such events. Thanks to Yevtushenko, there was an almost gleeful mood on the platform.

"This last writers' congress gave us all the greatest satisfaction of any of the congresses we have attended," said the Kirgiz writer, Ginhiz Aitmatov. "It was a time of acute discussion and sharp polemic, with conservative manifestations confronted by new ideas."

There were two people missing from the press conference who in justice, perhaps, should have been there. The first was the secretary of the Writers' Union, Vladimir Karpov, the first former inmate of Stalin's prison camps to rise to such a position.

The second, according to the writers' gossip, was Raisa Gorbacheva, the wife of the Soviet leader. Her influence behind the scenes has played a major part, according to several writers, in ensuring the publication of hitherto banned writers.

easy against reasonable breaks. However, the true expert tries to provide for every possible pitfall. Since South's trumps have been shortened at trick one, he cannot afford to lose control of the trump suit. Hugh Kelsey therefore suggests, quite correctly, that the best way of ensuring the slam contract is to duck a diamond at the second trick. No matter what the defenders return, South can arrange to ruff a second spade in the closed hand before drawing the outstanding trumps, and he will therefore come to four hearts, three top trumps, two spade ruffs and three clubs to chalk up his excellent slam contract.

The East-West hands are as follows:

NORTH		WEST		EAST	
♠ 7	♠ 8 4 5 3	♠ A 7 6	♠ J 8 4 2	♠ 7 2	♠ 8 7 6 2
♥ K Q	♥ A Q 6 3	♥ 8 7 3	♥ 9 8 5 2	♥ K Q 7 3 2	♥ 9 4
♦ 8 4	♦ 8 4	♦ 8 7 4	♦ 10	♦ 10	♦ 9 5
♣ A J 10 4	♣ K Q 8 2	♣ 9 5	♣ J 10 7 3	♣ K J 10	♣ A K Q 10 4

The defensive problem which particularly appealed to me was the following, dealt by North at game all.

NORTH		WEST		EAST	
♠ 7	♠ 8 4 5 3	♠ A 7 6	♠ J 8 4 2	♠ 7 2	♠ 8 7 6 2
♥ K Q	♥ A Q 6 3	♥ 8 7 3	♥ 9 8 5 2	♥ K Q 7 3 2	♥ 9 4
♦ 8 4	♦ 8 4	♦ 8 7 4	♦ 10	♦ 10	♦ 9 5
♣ A J 10 4	♣ K Q 8 2	♣ 9 5	♣ J 10 7 3	♣ K J 10	♣ A K Q 10 4

West leads the ace of spades, ruffed in the closed hand. How should South continue?

The average declarer would probably act quite quickly, for it all looks so

easy against reasonable breaks. However, the true expert tries to provide for every possible pitfall. Since South's trumps have been shortened at trick one, he cannot afford to lose control of the trump suit. Hugh Kelsey therefore suggests, quite correctly, that the best way of ensuring the slam contract is to duck a diamond at the second trick. No matter what the defenders return, South can arrange to ruff a second spade in the closed hand before drawing the outstanding trumps, and he will therefore come to four hearts, three top trumps, two spade ruffs and three clubs to chalk up his excellent slam contract.

The average declarer would probably act quite quickly, for it all looks so

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wounded (Ed: 1986) wrong. It was

A view of Scotland

By Tom Nairn

behind the bar, sometimes stopping to serve a glass of liquor but devoting most of their time to scrutinising the patrons." The miners didn't like them.

Plenty of other readers will enjoy similar reactions. And yet it is the book's very success on that plane which cannot help posing serious questions, both about social history and this particular verdict on modern Scottish society. Although it deals with the same subject-matter, "History from below" has of course a different ideological nerve to it: vindication and redemption of the oppressed.

Smout's liberal judgment from above (which to his credit he doesn't try to conceal) is by contrast a mixture of pity and final puzzlement about "how little one of the top two or three richest countries in the world did for its citizens until well on into the twentieth century."

This overview is further clouded by persistent nagging about Marxism: there are recurrent mentions of other lands where class harmony has accomplished more for their citizens than Scotland's dour confrontation of classes.

But as he himself knows very well, like is hardly being compared to like in such judgments. As a stateless country without "citizens", Scotland could do nothing for them in the relevant sense: that was part of the Union bargain. Instead, the Scots suffered from their famous autonomous institutions. Kirk, Education, and the Law. Smout devotes chapters to the first two of these; but the lawyers have escaped censure, pre-

sumably because the working-class was less directly exposed to their operations.

However brilliant, popular "social history" thus re-poses national and political questions. But the answers to these might in turn suggest quite a different social history.

Smout points out how strong both religion and Edinburgh's Enlightenment were in forming the popular political culture which supported first Gladstonian Liberalism and then a Labourism that "had nothing whatever to do with party socialism, enthusiasm for socialism or hope for the future". But the dire results are less astonishing, if one reflects that the shared features of these twin formative influences were anti-political: both pre-dated (and in Scotland, pre-empted) politics in the significant modern sense of democratic-national initiative "from below".

Some years after Professor Smout's chosen period, their final gift was what, until then, many would believe a contradiction in terms: the apolitical nationalism of the SNP.

If this is the real dark interior — pre-political paralysis, a democratic-national identity still in formation (and hobbled by the Unionist rules) — then Smout's grim exterior — at once appears less a fatality. And indeed, we should note that his starting date of 1830 (always a watershed for historians) was a primarily political meaning: the point at which the UK's Old Regime could reform itself and endure without a political revolution.

The Victorian miseries portrayed here can be seen as a provincial part of that endurance and its cost, as well as merely the by-product of an insufficiently liberal outlook or of an historical overdose of "class".

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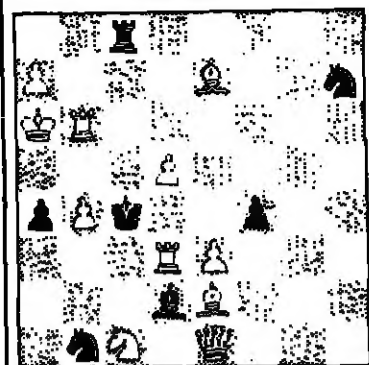
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By Leonard Barden

No. 1914



White mates in two moves, against any defence (by A. van der Ven). Though only a two-mover, this problem often defeats even strong solvers for an hour or more.

Solution No. 1913:

White K at Q2, Q at K2, R at KN7, B at KN5, N at KB3, P at QR3, QN2, QB4, O4 and KR2, Black K at QB1, Q at KR6, R at KB1, B at QB2, N at KR4, P at QR3, QN2, QB3, K3, KB4 and KB2. What should white play?

1 Rxf1 Pxf2 2 QxR ch R-Q2 (K-N1 3 Q-K8 ch K-R2 4 QxR) 3 N-K5! BxN 4 Q-K8 ch forces perpetual check.

CHEQUERS, the London coffee house which stages regular one-day and weekend tournaments, has estab-

lished its own weekly magazine with up-to-the-date games from the latest international events. Chequers Chess, now its twelfth issue, is edited by former British champion Bob Wade, and looks specially useful for strong players or improving juniors. Recent issues include all the games of the Kasparov-Miles match, reports on Brussels, Burgin and the USSR championship, and analysis of current openings. Specimen copies are £1, a monthly subscription £4.

Proprietor Aly Amin is fast establishing Chequers as a chess haunt in the tradition of the old Gambit cafe near Cannon Street which was demolished by property developers. You can visit the restaurant at 18 Chalk Farm Road, London NW11 (485 1996) for a meal, a friendly game, or for their next tournament — all night on 18-19 July, one-day on 25 July.

From the Chequers rating tournament, a pioneering event under new FIDE rules allowing games at one hour each for all moves to count for world rankings:

Byron Jacobs (France) — M Kirazenberg (France) Centre Counter (Chequers 1986)

1 P-K4 P-Q4 2 P-P N-KB3
3 P-QB4 P-B3 4 N-QB3 P-P
5 P-P N-P 6 P-Q4 P-K3
7 N-B3 K-B2 8 B-Q3 N-Q3
9 O-O 10 R-K1 B-B2
11 B-K4 QN-K2 12 Q-Q3 P-KR3?

P-KN3 is a better defence in similar positions.

13 N-K5 N-N 14 Q-N N-Q4
15 Q-B3 P-QN3 16 P-QR4 B-N2
17 R-R3!

To a standard and strong technique: the QH joins a king side attack via the third rank. Here it prepares a winning sacrifice.

17... R-B1 18 BxP! PxB
19 Q-R5 B-N4 20 BxN QxN
21 R-KN3 QxP 22 QxP QxN
23 RxB ch QxR 24 QxQ ch K-R2
25 Q-R5 ch K-N2 26 P-R4 R-KN1
27 Q-K3 K-R2 28 P-KN3 R-QB5
29 Q-B6 R-N2 30 K-R2 R-B4
31 R-K5 Resigns

London's other Mecca for the casual or regular chess visitor is the King's Head pub, oppositely situated in Moscow Road, Bayswater. Sets and boards are available at the bar, and you can often find GMs or IMs there discussing recent games or analysing openings. King's Head run successful teams in the London and Middlesex leagues and also organise a variety of tournaments.

Their latest innovation was the first Halpern and Woolf London Open, sponsored by a leading accountancy firm and attracting over 300 competitors. Michael Stern, MP for Bristol North-West, is a director of H and W and was among those in last month's parliamentary debate who argued for better funding for British chess.

A feature of King's Head chess events is a variety of brilliancy and best game prizes in all sections so that there is still something to go for if you are out of contention for a main award. Just as in this week's first game, defensive skills required against an isolated queen's pawn prove too much for Black.

N. A. P. McSheehy — S. A. Silver Queen's Gambit Accepted (Halpern and Woolf London Open 1986)

1 P-Q4 P-Q4 2 P-QB4 PxP
3 P-K3 N-KB3 4 BxP P-K3
5 N-KB3 P-B4 6 O-O P-QR3
7 P-QR3 P-QN4 8 B-R2 B-N2
9 N-B3 QN-Q2 10 Q-K2 P-K3
11 PxP B-K2 12 R-K1 N-N3
13 N-B3 QN-Q4 14 N-K3 O-O
15 BxN BxP?

Natural but fatal, permitting a decisive sacrifice. Best is 15... NxN!

Or 16... R-N1 17 QxP and now N-N1 takes 18 QxR ch.

17 QxP B-Q4 18 N-B2 ch BxQ
19 BxP ch K-R1 20 N-B7 ch R-N1
21 BxR N-R6 22 P-Q5 NxP
23 P-Q5 N-Q6 24 P-Q7 N-R5
25 R-N1 R-KB1 26 R-K8 B-K2
27 P=Q Resigns.

In the shifting pattern of the county championship, Essex stayed clear at the top, however, Hampshire losing twice in the week and none of the other challengers winning both their matches.

The Sunday League will have new sponsors from next season. John Player, the tobacco firm, is to withdraw the sponsorship it began when the league first opened for business in 1989, since when it has spent £3 million. It is believed that new sponsors will be expected to put up £500,000 next season when changes in the format are also expected. At the moment Hampshire lead the league but they share 24 points with Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire.

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The Bisset Games in Oslo, home of world records in track athletics, didn't quite live up to its reputation last week, but there was one world record, appropriately from the Norwegian Ingrid Kristiansen. She took the 10,000 metres in 30 minutes, 13.74 seconds, almost 46 seconds ahead of the record she had set on the same track last year. In the Dream Mile, Britain's Steve Cram again won but could not beat the world record he set at the track last year. He finished in 3 minutes 48.31 after being only 1/10th of a second outside the record pace at the three-quarter mark. Earlier in the week Sebastian Coe had been beaten in the 800 metres in Stockholm. He finished second to an American, Johnny Gray, who returned 1:42.85.

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Alan Dunn's DIARY

Pugnacious Gatting confirmed as captain

A PUGNACIOUS innings, rescuing England from the depths of cricketing despair, has earned the new captain, Mike Gatting, an extended tenure in the job, certainly for the rest of the summer and with the possibility of leading the defence of the Ashes in Australia in the winter.

The third Test against the Indians at Edgbaston was the background to Gatting's formal appointment as captain for the series against the New Zealanders that will complete this summer's international cricket. It followed a superb 183 not out from him in England's first innings of 390 after the team had made a ghastly start of two wickets down without a run on the board; Gooch and Athey going to outswingers from Kapil Dev. The new boy, Mark Benson, brought in at the last minute when Larkins was injured, held firm during the next sticky period with England's deposed captain, Gower. Gatting came in when Benson went at 61 and saw out the day on 141 and on the second day ran out of supporting partners as he sought a team total of 400 and a personal 200.

After the disappointments at the start, the rest of the team battled reasonably well against bowling that, with the exception of Kapil Dev, didn't quite capture the penetrating power of the opening Tests, both won by India. There was no similar dismal opening from India, but they never got on top of the bowling, either. But the team bats long — More and Binney hit 48 and 40 respectively batting at eight and nine — and the result was a rare tie on first innings at 390. Amarnath led the way with 79, followed by Asharuddin on 64.

Earlier in the week, the chairman of the Test selectors, Peter May, had received a letter of apology from Ian Botham over the derogatory comments he had made about selectors during a speech at a private dinner. A similar letter went to all the selectors and the matter is now expected to be dealt with by the Test and County Cricket Board.

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THE GUARDIAN, July 13, 1986

TENNIS: David Irvine sees the finals at the 100th Wimbledon championships

Becker's two-pronged assault fells Lendl

NOT content with being Wimbledon's youngest title winner, Boris Becker, still only 18, made sure his name would be remembered for another unique achievement on Sunday by retaining the trophy in the All England Club's 100th championship singles. In a collision of talents that never quite lived up to expectations, the West German confirmed his grass court supremacy by defeating the reigning World Champion Ivan Lendl 6-4, 6-3, 7-6 in a little over two hours.

The Czech simply found Becker too hot to handle, not only on serve — there were 14 aces against him — but on the sheer weight and variety of the youngster's returns. Sometimes they dipped to his ankles. At others they floated tantalisingly out of reach. More often than not they went past as though rocket-propelled.

"He just took a crack at my second serve every time," said a bewildered-looking Lendl. "I would have loved to do the same on him, but you can't the way he's serving at the moment. It put so much

Martina home again as Hana loses heart

SHE may have been born in Prague, she may now live in Texas but, to Martina Navratilova, Wimbledon is her spiritual home and the Centre Court crowd her family. "I love this place," she declared on Saturday. And so she should, having taken her total of winning finals to seven on Saturday by beating Hana Mandlikova 7-6, 6-3, after possibly her most testing first-set examination.

"I guess it becomes harder each time because it means more," she said. "But the closer I got to the final the more I saw myself lifting the trophy. Even when I was 2-5 down I thought even if I don't win the first set, I can win the next two."

In the event, a recovery of those proportions was not necessary. Mandlikova, who was at the champion's throat at the start of the match, confirmed her capricious nature and still brittle temperament yet again by losing her rhythm and, with it, 12 of the next 14 points.

Once the initiative had been torn from her, she was doomed. Centre Court may be home to Navratilova; to Mandlikova, who also lost in her only previous final appearance four years ago, it is Heartbreak House.

It was a final in which Navratilova established a new record with her 34th singles victory at the championships; and equalled a more enduring record by taking her fifth successive singles title, a feat only the legendary Suzanne Lenglen had previously achieved.

Should Navratilova win again in 1987 — and who would wager against that? — she would not only share, with Helen Wills Moody, a haul of eight titles, but would equal Bjorn Borg's unprecedented run of 41 victories.

Mandlikova, who appeared to bow to the inevitable once the tide changed, was moved to compare the champion with Borg. "She is absolutely unbelievable. She must have the perfect game for grass." Nevertheless the 24-year-old's total collapse was hard to credit.

Even Navratilova admitted to having been worried at the start. "She was just blasting winners. All I could do was hang in. She was falling over, getting up to make drop shots, clipping the lines. I wondered what else could go wrong. It was raining and she was

pressure on me to get my first serve in. He just stood inside the base line and swung. I was scrambling all the time."

Before the match, which was played on a real fast bowler's wicket, bald, dusty and hard, Lendl probably felt convinced he was ready to extend his kingdom. But against Becker's relentless onslaught, the grass court title remained beyond him. Lendl has no doubt return. He is eager to prove himself just as Bjorn Borg was eager to conquer the US Open and John McEnroe the French.

With Becker around, the chances are he will be just as unsuccessful as the Swede and the American.

"It seems like my court out there," said Becker. "I have a little bit more luck than my opponents. I don't know why, it just happens. But it feels good out there."

At the close, after a dance of joy and the presentation of the trophy by Jean Borotra, the French Musketeer who won the title for a second time exactly 60 years ago, Becker raised the cup towards the Royal Box. And then amid the

congratulatory applause, came a very special moment — a wave of approval from the West German President, Richard von Weizsäcker, who had stayed on specially in Britain to see his nation's young hero in his moment of triumph.

It was Becker's first title at any level since he beat Lendl in Chicago three months ago. Apart from the West German, Lendl has lost to only one other player this year. Sunday's, though, was a crushing dismissal. Lendl confirmed that he gave his all and it simply was not enough. "Boris played a great match," he said. "He deserves it."

The gauntlet was tossed down at the very first stroke — a Becker ace. Yet, within moments, he was having to fight hard to stave off break points. Lendl did lead in the fifth when the champion momentarily lost his composure, double-faulted and chopped a backhand volley into the net to allow Lendl the chance, which he took, to go 3-2 up with a brilliantly hit forehand struck from yards out to his right.

But he was unable to defend his lead. Immediately Lendl was in trouble on volleying errors and was broken when Becker reacted so swiftly on a return close to the net that Lendl volleyed the ball out of court.

The pattern rarely changed. There were few rallies; merely sudden violent blows from one end of the court to the other. Having won the first set, Becker began the second ace, ace, new service winner. It was intimidating stuff and Lendl looked the worse for wear of the two.

At 1-1 a baby began to cry — surely not McEnroe junior? — and Lendl, apparently distracted, twice double-faulted. Having got away with that, he missed a break-point chance at 2-2, following which Becker served his 12th ace of the match and his 100th of the tournament. By then such statistical niceties were employing many minds in the Press area.

Again Becker finished the set the stronger. A vicious serve

return caught Lendl in two minds, and he volleyed wide. Becker served out for a two-set lead inside 75 minutes. By then Lendl's own deliveries were so inaccurate that his percentage rate on first serves was below 50 whereas Becker's had risen to more than 70.

Lendl's supporters were encouraged when he jumped to a 3-0 advantage in the third. Again his assets proved vulnerable. At 4-2 Becker broke with a backhand return and the emotional temperature rose as the crowd, quite rightly, sensed what was coming. Becker sensed it too. "Ivan started at 4-4 with two second-serve aces and again, at 5-4 with two passing shots. In all he played seven points on which I couldn't do anything. Then, at 0-40, I made a good guess at the net and made the point."

On the next he did the same, leaving only one set-point chance in the Czech's favour. "Then I saw a little bit in Ivan's face that he did not know what to do any more to pass me," said Becker. "That helped me a lot. When I got to 5-5 it was a great feeling." It was also the end of Lendl's challenge.

There was one dramatic moment left. Serving for the title at 6-5, 0-30 — he had popped in a double fault and been passed by a forehand — Becker guessed correctly when Lendl swooped on a volley and hit another forehand down the line. That familiar Nynsky leap saw the youngster hit the ground with a crash. But the ball, instead of coming up to the racket, caught the net and dropped. "Suddenly the ball wasn't behind my ear, and I saw it falling in front of me," said Becker. "I thought maybe I can get it." He did precisely that. At full stretch on the grass he hit the cheekiest cross-court winner to leave Lendl helpless. It was the kiss of death.

In fact Becker conceded only two sets in the fortnight. Triumph earned him £140,000 and made him the game's youngest dollar millionaire. He left the Centre Court, whiffing of cordite and shrouded in gunsmoke.

Brundie's team-mate Philippe Stieff had retired earlier when a fuel injection pipe broke and sprayed petrol over the Renault engine. Stieff pulled up near the pits, and the ensuing blaze allowed the organisers to display a disturbing degree of incompetence as first two fire trucks were driven the wrong way out of the pit lane, then one of the rescue vehicles sprayed foam over the pit entrance rather than the car.

Jonathan Palmer, believed to be the perpetrator of the indiscretion referred to by Mansell, made an excellent start, but his Zakspeed retired with engine trouble after 46 laps. Johnny Dumfries went out with a similar failure, but not before he had piloted his Lotus steadily in the middle of the pack and survived a potentially disastrous clash of wheels while lapping another car.

Mansell rubbed in his domination of his eighth round of the world championship by setting the fastest lap, over half a second quicker than his Williams team-mate, Nelson Piquet, who finished a distant third ahead of the McLaren of Keke Rosberg.

FRENCH GP (Le Castellet, 305.04km) — 1. N. Mansell (GB), Williams 2. A. Prost (Fr), McLaren 3. N. Piquet (Br), Williams 4. K. Rosberg (Fr), McLaren 5. R. Arnoux (Fr), Ligier 6. J. Laffite (Fr), Ligier 7. J. Jabouille (Fr), Renault 8. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 9. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 10. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 11. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 12. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 13. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 14. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 15. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 16. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 17. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 18. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 19. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 20. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 21. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 22. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 23. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 24. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 25. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 26. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 27. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 28. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 29. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 30. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 31. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 32. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 33. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 34. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 35. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 36. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 37. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 38. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 39. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 40. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 41. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 42. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 43. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 44. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 45. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 46. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 47. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 48. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 49. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 50. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 51. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 52. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 53. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 54. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 55. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 56. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 57. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 58. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 59. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 60. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 61. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 62. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 63. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 64. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 65. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 66. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 67. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 68. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 69. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 70. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 71. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 72. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 73. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 74. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 75. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 76. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 77. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 78. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 79. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 80. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 81. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 82. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 83. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 84. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 85. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 86. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 87. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 88. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 89. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 90. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 91. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 92. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 93. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 94. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 95. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 96. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 97. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 98. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 99. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 100. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 101. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 102. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 103. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 104. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 105. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 106. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 107. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 108. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 109. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 110. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 111. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 112. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 113. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier 114. J. Dumfries (GB), Ligier